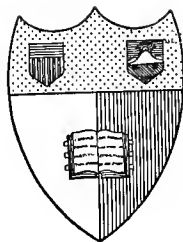


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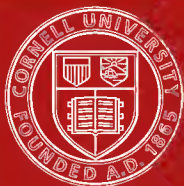
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THE MAKING OF THE FUTURE

THE COMING POLITY

THE MAKING OF THE FUTURE

EDITED BY

PATRICK GEDDES and VICTOR BRANFORD

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The Making of the Future

THE COMING POLITY

A STUDY IN RECONSTRUCTION

BY

VICTOR BRANFORD, M.A.

MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

AND

PATRICK GEDDES

PROFESSOR OF BOTANY, UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

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INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

SINCE the Industrial Revolution, there has gone on an organized sacrifice of men to things, a large-scale subordination of life to machinery. During a still longer period, there has been a growing tendency to value personal worth in terms of wealth. To the millionaire has, in effect, passed the royal inheritance of "right divine."

Things have been in the saddle and ridden mankind. The cult of force in statecraft has been brought to logical perfection in Prussian "frightfulness." The cult of "profiteering" in business has had a similar goal in the striving for monopoly by ruthless elimination of rivals. Prussianism and profiteering are thus twin evils. Historically they have risen together. Is it not possible they are destined to fall together before the rising tide of a new vitalism?

The reversal of all these tendencies, mechanistic and venal, would be the preoccupation of a more vital era than that from which we are escaping. Its educational aim would be to think out and prepare the needed transition from a machine, and a money economy,

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towards one of Life, Personality and Citizenship. The war has been a gigantic Dance of Death, for which modern business, with its associated politics, has been the prolonged rehearsal. Is it not now the turn of Life to take the floor and call the tune; and if so, on a scale of corresponding magnificence? For the war is not merely the poisonous fruit of pitiless competition and machiavellian diplomacy. It is also a spiritual protest and rebound against the mammon of materialism. In its nobler aspects and finer issues, its heroisms and self-sacrifices, does not the war hold proof and promise of renewing Life liberated from a long repression? And may not the pursuit of personal wealth grow less exigent, as we gain a sense of social well-being expressed in betterment of environment and enrichment of life? May not the struggle for existence within the nations, and even across their frontiers, be increasingly replaced by the orderly culture of life, in its full cycle from infancy to age, and at all its expanding levels from home and neighbourhood outwards?

Those who foresee, in sequel to the war, a social rebirth, with accompanying moral purification, will furnish to all these questions, answers coloured by their hopes. The fears of the pessimists will dictate a contrary set of replies. To substantiate those hopes, to arrest these fears is needed a doctrine that

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not only goes beyond the Germanic Philosophies, which before the war dominated our universities, but also is corrective of their defects. The "idealisms" of these recently fashionable philosophies were bastard offspring of archaic thought detached from the living world. Such abstract idealisms must be replaced by definite ideals, concrete and human, if all men of goodwill are to be brought together for the making of a new and better civilization. So may men inherit the ancient promise of "peace on earth to men of goodwill."

It is the aim of this Series to gather together existing elements of reconstructive doctrine, and present them as a body of truth growing towards unity and already fruitful in outlook and application. There are three schools of thought from which the Series will mainly draw. One of them lays stress upon family life, contacts with nature, the significance of labour, the interests of locality. Elaborated into a doctrine this becomes the "regionalism" of France. Its scientific foundations were laid two generations ago by Le Play. The influence of its many and diverse groups is steadily growing in France, and unobtrusively spreading to other countries; as, for example, in England, through the economic and social surveys of Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree; through the activities of the Regional Association and of the Oxford School of Geography.

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Another guiding outlook, which is rather a tradition than a school, sees the progress of mankind as an unfolding of ideas and ideals. Two thinkers of post-Revolutionary France discerned this vision with compelling clearness. Auguste Comte saw it as a procession of great personalities, linked in apostolic succession. Joseph de Maistre saw it as a movement and manifestation of religious life. There have resulted two re-interpretations of life, mind, morals and society. They are divergent in appearance, but alike in essence. Both present a view of life and the world, inimical to the Prussian cult of force. The twofold influence of this humanist tradition is world-wide. Witness the writings of William James, Madame Montessori, Prince Kropotkin and F. W. Foerster of Munich—to name but four among the many recent and contemporary humanists whose roots penetrate this fertile soil. The vitalistic philosophy of Bergson is manifestly racy of the same soil.

In the third place, there is the incipient Civism of independent origin and rapid recent growth in Britain, in America and in Germany. This incipient Civism has been the parent of constructive Betterment and to no small extent of Child Welfare also. It has inspired the repair and renewal of historic cities, the tidying up of confused industrial towns, the guidance and gardening of their suburban growths.

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The Hebraic ideal of adjusting city life to the care and culture of child life was thus in active renewal before the war. So also was the Hellenic ideal of seeking the Good, the True, the Beautiful through a citizenship, active and contemplative. With the downfall of Tsardom achieved and the reduction of Kaiserism in process, this civic renaissance will continue; and not least splendidly in the ancient cities of Burgher Germany, released from their Prussic enchantment. From this source maybe will come in the after-war generation, a formative contribution towards the sphinx-riddle of politics: How to federate Free Cities and their Regions? Reflecting in the tranquillity of peace, on the penalties of imperial attachment to Berlin, will not these once free cities seek determinately for some form of union without metropolitan subjection? But that is the federal problem, whose solution has so long evaded the grasp of the western world.

Behind the rise and fall of states, nations and empires, may be discerned the struggle of cities for freedom to develop their own regional life. And again, around and within the civic drama is the play of the rustic elements from which the city's life is perennially renewed. Civic life is thus the crown and fulfilment of regional life. Their joint development makes a partnership of Man and Nature in a ceaseless game of skill with

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Interfering Circumstance. The stakes are cities with their accumulated heritage of art, learning and wealth. When the twin partnership is winning, civic life flourishes, as in Athens and Jerusalem of old, in Florence of the middle time, or in Louvain but yesterday. When Interfering Circumstance is dominant, then is the occasion for predatory empires to expand like Assyria, Macedonia, or Prussia.

As correctives of predatory imperialism, regional and humanist ideas naturally arise. But regionalism and humanism are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they are, for the awakened and educated citizen, the two necessary and complementary poles of his civilization. The needle of the mariner's compass gains stability by oscillating between the two poles of the world of nature. So, regionalism and humanism indicate the two poles of man's world; and the art of civics is his mariner's compass. Through the making and the maintenance of cities, man is ever seeking a bi-polar stability. On the one hand he obeys the call of family, of neighbourhood and of region. On the other, he reaches out to the widening appeal of nation and federation, of civilization and humanity. In the measure that cities work efficiently on each and all of these levels, the progress of the world continues harmoniously.

The supreme triumphs of Art have been won in these manifold services of the city. Pyramid

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and Temple, Acropolis and Forum, Cathedral and Town Hall, are peaks in the chequered evolution of civic life. What of this evolution to-day and to-morrow? It is significant that in the development and decline of cities, Beauty and Efficiency have come and gone together. The cogent lesson for our own times is that Art and Industry, Education and Health, Morals and Business, so generally severed in the passing age, must henceforth advance in unison. But how in practice effect the mutuality of understanding and the unity of purpose, requisite for concerted activity? Surely by experimental but deliberate and continuous working together of all for the efficiency of city and ennoblement of citizen on each plane, domestic and regional, national and federal, international and humanist.

Behind the war of armies is a war of ideas. In the latter warfare the fortresses are Universities. They have in all countries in the passing generation been strongholds of Germanic Thought. Hence the boast of professors, that Teutonic *Kultur* was destined to rule the world, seemed not unreasonable. But the countering ideas, regional, civic and humanist, have also been fermenting in the universities. Therefrom is emerging a doctrine deeper, truer, and more creative than the mechanical and venal philosophy which has had its fulfilment in Prussian Militarism and Competitive Business.

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The re-awakening movement of the universities has been slow, timid, blindfold, because lacking in civic vision. Now, therefore, is urgent an arousal of the universities to their spiritual responsibilities for the fullness of life, in all its phases, individual and social. In every region is needed a comprehensive working together of city and university on each plane of the ascending spiral from home to humanity,

In spite of a political system democratic in form, the People have played but a passive rôle in the departing age of money and machine economy. In the coming age of life economy, the activity of the People will be creative in proportion as two conditions are satisfied. The inner life must be purified and enriched, and opportunities without distinction of class, rank, or sex, must be accorded for the development of personality through citizenship. In the needed intellectual and moral transformation, the university is called upon to play a part, simultaneously redemptive for itself, for the people, and for its city and region. It must not only aid the birth of the new doctrine, but also boldly suggest and even plan the practical applications thereof. Thus may unity of thought, and concert of purpose develop together in a common citizenship.

A sound psychology, for instance, teaches that the aggressive spirit which characterizes Militarism may be transmuted, not eliminated. Attempts at repression do but drive its mani-

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festations into underground channels. Constructive outlets have, therefore, to be found for the adventurous dispositions of Youth, the affirmative energies of Maturity, the political ambitions of Age. Towards this ennoblement of masculine passion, William James bequeathed to mankind the idea of inventing "moral equivalents of war." For example, consider how the Boy Scouts are helping to tackle that growth of juvenile crime which is one of the evil results of the war already visible. They transform the young delinquent into a Temporary Scout, and harness him to some simple constructive endeavour. Here, then, is a mode of Reconstruction, which also, and at the same time, exemplifies what the French call Re-education, and what moral teachers call Renewal. Out of the general principles here seen at work, may be built up a social policy. Thus starting from regionalism, with its complement of humanist teaching, and proceeding through civic applications of both, we reach a policy of "the three R's," new style.

Through the redemptive quality of war, the nation has shed not a little of its competitive individualism, and achieved a closer working together of all for the common good. How now to maintain and advance the sense of community, the energy of collective effort, the self-abnegation of individuals and families? Clearly, in the after-war polity, there must

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be arousal among all classes of a personal sense of definite responsibilities, including and transcending one's own life and work. There must be some vision, clear yet moving, of a better future. And knowledge and goodwill towards its gradual realization must not be lacking. All these aims, the Series will endeavour to elucidate and advance, and not only through application of regionalist, civic and humanist teaching, but also by culling what is vital and essential from other schools of practical sociology.

The design on the cover of the books is adapted from a stained glass window in the Outlook Tower, Edinburgh. The window is a student's commemoration of teaching and research devoted to an interpretation of the Past and the Present for the foresight and guidance of the Future. The symbolism of this *Arbor Sæculorum* is explained in one of the two introductory volumes: "Ideas at War," by Professor Geddes and Dr. Gilbert Slater.

It might be mentioned, for the sake of inquiring students, that each of the two Editors of the Series has elsewhere made an endeavour towards the popular presentment of Civism as a doctrine combining the regional and humanist approaches. The two resulting volumes are *Cities in Evolution*, by Professor Geddes, and *Interpretations and Forecasts*, by Mr. Branford.

PREFACE

THE typescript of the present volume has been read in whole or part by several friends, and notably by Professors J. Arthur Thomson and H. J. Fleure, also by Mr. H. S. Swinny. Thanks to their criticisms and suggestions not a few defects have been made good and others mitigated. But this is not to say that these friendly counsellors incur any responsibility for what appears, or even that they accept the main positions of the joint-authors.

The many references in the text to LePlay will probably send some readers to the biographical dictionaries. But their harvest will be scanty. Hence the main facts of his career are indicated in a brief biographical note printed at the end of this volume. The fullest notice in English works of reference is to be found in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*. But not even there does

the reader gain a picture of the real LePlay, the man who was "one of the founders of geography and sociology, the master craftsman of his age, the supreme miner, the organizer of the first Paris Exhibition, the master interpreter of the industries of the world."

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THE COMING POLITY

INTRODUCTION

THE REGIONAL SURVEY

A GENERATION ago, there was one figure amongst living savants, who with incomparable fidelity reflected the spirit of science, alike in respect of its qualities and defects, as these were manifested in the nineteenth century. That figure was unquestionably Huxley. From his long list of books and memoirs three might be selected to stand to future ages as a Trilogy of Science in that era of exuberant growth. Each of them dealt authoritatively with one of the three great orders of phenomena: the physical, the vital, the social. The first of the trilogy, in logic if not in time, was the *Physiography: an Introduction to the Study of Nature*, a work that ran through about a score of editions in as many years, and penetrated to every school and college of scientific

curriculum. In this book we were told all that the physical sciences have to tell about a representative region of the visible universe—in the given instance, the Thames Basin. The second of the trilogy was the *Elements of Biology*, and it achieved a similar triumph of popularity and authority. In this book were described the types of plant and animal life to be found in a region similar to that of the Thames Basin. The third was his famous essay, *Evolution and Ethics*, which set forth the relation, or rather absence of relation, between morals and science.

Here in these three books was presented a view of nature, clear, definite, systematic and comprehensive; genuinely scientific accordingly. Representative facts were selected and described. The mode of their working was analysed with lucidity and precision. The facts can scarcely be further summarized. But as to the mode of working, that can be condensed into a couple of sentences. The system of nature was presented as a mechanism and this as culminating in a struggle for survival among all living creatures, man included. It was a struggle

predetermined by the very constitution of the universe, and ordained to give the hindmost to the devil; while to the foremost was permitted a certain latitude in postponement of the evil day.

A convenient designation for this gladiatorial and mechanistic conception of nature is lacking. Many epithets have been offered but none chosen. If it were to be christened after its original parents, something might be said for calling it British. But there can be no question it has been to wide and deep acceptance by German science, that the hypothesis has owed its academic prestige and much of its vogue in the popular mind. Still the test of belief is action. And it is the Prussian State which has fashioned it into a comprehensive article of faith and a complete rule of life. Not to confuse the German nation with the Prussian State, let the epithet Prussic, in justice and mercifulness, be chosen as the fitting designation to carry down to posterity the gladiatorial and mechanistic interpretation of nature. The University of Berlin, special creation and spiritual organ of the Prussian Monarchy,

has been to the world the Mecca of this faith. Thither have flocked students from all quarters of the globe to be grounded in the characteristic culture. It is a culture of unending analyses, isolated specialisms and unconscious reading of nature in terms of the prevailing social milieu and the dominant political habit of mind. The social milieu thus read into the order of nature was characterized by a mingling of militaristic, mechanical and venal elements. The corresponding political habit of mind was that of unquestioning faith in the State, and this not only hypostatized, but practically deified.

Concurrently with this main trend of science and obscured by it, there was growing up a different reading of man and nature. This unfashionable interpretation had its roots in a historic régime of less warlike politics and less competitive industry. Its home was of course outside Germany. Yet some of the severest criticisms of Darwinism have, it is true, been German, as, for example those of Driesch. And it must be noted that there are many vitalists in Germany. But for practical effect in their own country have

they not all as yet been but voices crying in the wilderness?

Resurveying the same region as Huxley in his *Physiography*, but now from the standpoint of this other tradition (mainly a French one) the student would construct a picture of man and nature, which it is true would be congruent, even identical, with Huxley's up to a point; yet widely different in conclusion and resultant. He would take over and use whatever is in Huxley, except the all-sufficiency of the two master concepts of mechanism and struggle-for-life. Given Huxley's observed data of natural conditions, the student, in the French tradition, would begin his own special survey of the Thames Valley, or other region, just where Huxley left off. He would begin, from the platform already provided, a new set of observations, and interpret them by other principles of life and nature. With Huxley he would, in preparation for his own regional survey, work out the conditions of climate and soil, of contours and streams, of vegetation and animal life. So, too, he would accept Huxley's frog, pigeon and rabbit as types of the more

evolved forms of life inhabiting the region. But he would not at that point abandon, as did Huxley (in the essay above cited), the naturalist method of survey, and fall back on the logic of abstract argument. When confronted by the human problem, he would bring within the scope of his survey the Shepherd of the Downs, the Peasant of the Cotswolds, the Oyster-fisher and the Seaman of the Thames estuary. Formulæ and models are available for the study of these human types by a method hardly inferior in scientific rigour to that of the biologists, thanks to the researches of LePlay and his school. Again, beyond these simple human types are forms of associated life vastly more complex. And, thanks to the labours of those who have continued and developed the work not only of LePlay but also of Comte, we can push on our regional survey to include also these highest forms. Formulæ and models are available for the scientific study of such products of regional life and world tradition as the culture cities of Oxford and Westminster, of Edinburgh or Dublin.

Without making the smallest pretension to include a regional survey of the Thames Valley, the present volume deliberately draws its illustrations as far as may be from that region. The aim is to select certain exemplary facts, interpret them as natural elements of regional life and labour, and thereby disclose them as necessary factors in that reconstruction of political thought which is long overdue. In a forthcoming volume of this series, a systematic endeavour will be made towards a civic survey of Westminster. That, together with the present volume (which deals more with rural than civic life), may be regarded as a preliminary sketch towards a work which some future Huxley will undertake. Meantime, we propose to picture by illustration and outlook the sort of survey which we believe must precede and accompany any political reconstruction, if that, like so many of its predecessors, is not to end in disillusionment.

The merit of the Huxley type of survey was that it fearlessly applied the verified truths and the tested methods of physical

science to the realm of life; and it thereby disclosed many hidden secrets of nature's mode of working. The defect of that type of survey was its failure to see that, in so proceeding, it was moving not upwards and forwards as it thought, but—so to speak—downwards and backwards. The regional survey, of French type, completes the circuit. It proceeds from physical facts, through vital processes, and to human and social phenomena; but it also works round the other way, and so illuminates the lower orders of life and nature by the higher. We are thus in a position to revise the estimates of the English and Prussic traditions. Our regional surveys may show us nature red in tooth and claw, and with no less clearness and precision than did the Huxleyan survey. But the former also reveal, as no less part of the order of nature, the golden treasury of fellowship and purpose, of co-operation and self-sacrifice. And when we look back down the organic series with the help of these finer clues, we see some of the great uplifts of nature (supremely that of reptiles to birds and mammals) as crucial instances of evolution by factors which

are based in other-regarding as well as self-regarding activities. Nature we discover to exhibit more moods and manifestations than the Prussic type of naturalist supposed. These moods of nature range, in human definition, from the gladiatorial arena to the mother's arms. And it would seem in deepest analysis, that the latter holds more, it may be far more, of the secrets of evolution than the former. Thus alongside Darwin's *Origin of Species*, we cannot but allocate rank also to Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*, as likewise a classic rendering of nature's order, method and purpose. In each book we recognize a true interpretation, yet as sociologists we note that our author, in each case, applies to the reading of nature the clues he has observed in his own social milieu, his dominant historic tradition.

It must not, however, be overlooked, that to the identification of Darwinism with the gladiatorial and mechanistic view of nature there are signal reservations. Darwin as observer and experimentalist, as breeder and gardener, was a thorough-going vitalist. But Darwin as interpreter of nature was

deeply affected by the competitive and mechanistic bias of his times. Hence the *Origin of Species* became a very mint of Prussic coinage in the hands of the Huxleys, who, especially in Britain and in Germany, expounded, applied and popularized it. The more humanistic interpretation of nature in Kropotkin was far less likely to find its Huxley. And even if it had, would his books have become popular? Hardly in Victorian England. But if the Russian village community developed a taste for biological philosophy they would doubtless prefer Kropotkin to Darwin. And not because the former is a Russian, but because his conception of life in evolution would be verifiable in the common run of the village community's own life, with its tradition of communistic impulse, and its practice of co-operation.

An economic policy congruent with his natural philosophy has been worked out, and presented by Kropotkin in his book, *Fields, Factories and Workshops*. This has been before the statesmen of the western nations for more than half a generation. But there are no signs that it has exercised any

influence on practical politics. How, indeed, could it, while the presuppositions of the men in power are so largely derived—all the more pregnantly if unconsciously—from a widely different philosophy of man and nature?

The long concentration of the *naturalistic* sciences of the official world on descriptive analysis of somewhat arbitrarily chosen phenomena has had its counterpart in *social* science in a corresponding ban of synthetic ideas. By this sacrifice, the newcomer, Sociology, has vainly endeavoured to affiliate itself with the older and more established branches. The neglect of its French traditions, which were at once naturalist and humanist, analytic and synthetic, is thus in part at least explained. But though forsworn by officialdom, this French tradition has not ceased to grow, and even to spread to other countries and there assume new developments. In Great Britain there has arisen from it the aspiration towards a Regional Survey of the whole country, parallel and comparable in scientific value and

practical use to the Ordnance Survey and the Geological Survey. Towards this consummation substantial beginnings have been made. One of the earliest and best known is Charles Booth's classic work, which established the model for such other notable economic surveys as those of Mr. Seebohm Rowntree. It is something of a misfortune that, in these standard works, but one half of the original tradition was followed. The geographic and economic impulse of LePlay's monographs was pursued, but the historic impulse of Comte was passed by. Both traditions were combined and developed in the Civic Survey of Edinburgh, initiated some quarter of a century since and still in progress. The Edinburgh example has happily been followed in not a few Civic and Regional Surveys, now in progress, in various parts of Great Britain. Saffron Walden, in Essex, affords an exemplary instance. The making of a survey of their region has brought together into a working co-partnership of observation, research and interpretation the local Museum, the Schools and the Training College there. Again at Bingley, in Yorkshire, the Workers'

Educational Association and the local Training College are co-operating in a regional survey.

But of all this series, from Charles Booth's onwards, the most notable and impressive is the Civic Survey of Greater London, undertaken as a War Relief measure, by the Royal Institute of British Architects. The truly magistral set of drawings and diagrams thus produced constitutes a landmark in the history of the Regional Movement. Unfortunately the financing of the undertaking brought upon it a taboo of historical investigation, as of interpretation of any kind. Hence the achievement of the architects, great as it is, nevertheless is shorn of half its inheritance. Yet this half may now be taken up by whoever will—let us hope by the Regional Association, which is beginning to spread over the United Kingdom and beyond.

The corresponding movement in the United States, already well established, is steadily growing. It emphasizes the practical side, so that civic and rural surveys are in America becoming the indispensable pre-requisites to

schemes of improvement and policies of progress. It is a sign of the times that the great and wealthy Russell Sage Foundation has, for many years, had in operation a Survey Department.

As such surveys grow towards a comprehensive knowledge of social life, and its setting of environment and tradition, region by region, city by city, we approach the time of application. And then, political treatment being based on adequate diagnosis, policy will become less empirical and more in the nature of applied science. And that change from old politics to new polity involves a double revolution, in theory and in intellectual alliance. For it means an increasing substitution of man in the rôle of creator for man as creature of circumstance and habit. It also means a turning away from the Prussic towards the more Gallic outlook in science.

The French tradition to which we have alluded as fount and inspiration of the regional and civic survey movement is not a single and united inheritance. It is divided and twofold. There is a scientific doctrine of

regionalism and another and separate one of humanism. These, though manifestly complementary, have never in the country of their origin been brought into theoretical unity and practical partnership. But they have been united elsewhere in the concept of the city as at once a natural object and the supreme expression of the evolutionary process. The scientific doctrine of civism thus brings together into working unison the separate doctrines of regionalism and humanism. That the joint product has a political application, and that this is doubly significant in the present occidental crisis, we believe, and hope to make clear in the course of this volume. But a preliminary word may be said here as to the practical bearing of this doctrine.

The conspicuous feature of the political situation to-day is the deep and widespread interest in public life generated by the war. The revival of political activity shows itself in two ways. There are those who preoccupy themselves with variations of precedent and the remodelling of constitutional machinery, with the uprooting of old party landmarks

and maybe the planting of new ones. But with these externalities of the body politic we are not here concerned. We mention them merely to warn the reader not to look for their discussion in our pages.

The central and vital fact is that on all sides there is a renewal of political life in the direct, intimate and personal sense. Public duties are no longer discussed as abstract obligations. They are seen and accepted as personal responsibilities. In short, the traditional demarcations of public and private life are in process of obliteration. Ideas, such as co-ordination of effort, maximizing of the national energies, the restriction of wasteful and parasitic occupations, conservation of resources and the like, which were formerly taboo in the sterile strife of parties are becoming the stock-in-trade of political discussion.

This growing tendency to identify personal effort with public welfare has its spiritual counterpart in the political re-education of the individual. To forward this incipient process of re-education we need a mobilization of resources in the intellectual and moral

world, no less than for corresponding tasks in the material world. The scientific pre-suppositions of political reconstruction have not only to be thought out, but also presented in a form conducive to popular discussion and general criticism. To that double task of research and of popularization the present volume addresses itself. The renewal of public life, with its accompanying possibilities of re-education, is the preparation for, rather than the sequel to, political, economic and social reconstruction. Has it not been the perennial mistake of democracies to reverse this natural order of procedure? To avoid this chronic error, in the after-war re-adjustments of the western democracies, is surely of the first importance. In contribution to the problem we submit (a) that political reconstruction should be preceded by a reconstruction of politics: (b) the needed reconstruction of politics implies a fundamental change (a "new orientation") in the outlook and mental habit of the classes directly engaged in legislation and administration; (c) a corresponding re-education is required for the classes who have hitherto participated

in public life only indirectly and occasionally as by discussion, criticism and voting, but who are now learning to see an element of public responsibility in every private action; (d) the requisite revaluations for the "new orientation" should be worked out concurrently with the actual doing of the practical tasks; (e) the Regional Survey (alike rural and civic) is well adapted to aid all the above processes of reconstruction and re-education.

The present volume is introductory to a series of studies scientific in method and prospective in outlook. It will serve its purpose in the measure that it captures and shows forth the spirit of science in that sequence of moods which accompany the gesture of alternately facing the present, the past and the future. We of the present generation are at the parting of the ways. The future we can see but dimly. The more sharply we can outline the past in the present, the more clearly may we discern the image of the future. For the future is not disconnected from the past, but is continuous with it. By selection and recombination of past

tendencies surviving into the present, we shape the future. Hence the first requisite of foresight is true and clear ideas about the past. Our opening chapters, accordingly, are mainly historical.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND POLITICS

ONE of the many reasons which have kept the social coinage of Comte from passing into currency is that his critics have mostly fixed on the more philosophical aspects of his system. Critics without number purport to have demolished his *Law of the Three States*, and thereupon have assumed there was nothing left of his sociology but negligible fragments. It was as though one explained the working of a locomotive without reference to boiler or driving wheel. The central and motive idea of Comte's sociology was his generalization of Temporal and Spiritual Powers; and the driving wheels were his four Social Types. The latter classification has been verified time and again by independent rediscovery, always, strange to say, outside the ranks of professed sociologists. The latest verification is from the keen observation

of Mr. Arnold Bennett, who, in a recent visit to the Clyde, found men in that complex and intense situation, sorting themselves out into Organizers, Workers, Energizers and Initiators. These, manifestly, are the four orders of Comte—Chiefs, People, Emotionals, Intellectuals.

Every one is familiar with the Barons and Serfs of the Middle Ages, and how, at that period of history, great power was in the hands of the Secular Clergy, *i.e.* the priests, and of the Regular Clergy, *i.e.* the monks. Recall the life of mediæval society after the Dark Age had gone, and before the age of universities and free cities, of guilds and friaries, had come in its fullness. To think of that intermediate period is to think of a drama in which the leading parts were those of Barons, Serfs, Seculars and Regulars. It was these whom Comte generalized as perennial social types—for whom, it must be confessed, he might have invented names more happily chosen than Chiefs, People, Emotionals and Intellectuals. Mr. Arnold Bennett's terms go more to the root of the matter, and we shall use them freely.

Modern societies are vastly more complex than that of the early Middle Ages. But the war has brought great simplifications; and do not these tend to show how older forms survive not far below the surface, ready ever to emerge when stress comes? A neutral observer, if asked to enumerate the leading national types in time of war, would have no great difficulty in answering. He would point first to the people making munitions at home and to the people firing them off at the Front. He would point to the capitalists whose subscriptions to war-loans pay the bills, and the military and political leaders who direct the corresponding energies. He would indicate the journalists, whose daily histories make us thrill with hope or shudder with fear, leaving us now optimists, now pessimists. And finally, after a little investigation, he would discover the thinking few whose science and ingenuity devise the marvellous mechanical contrivances, the higher and higher explosives, the increasingly deadly fumigations, the mysterious monsters called "tanks," and other wonders of modern warfare.

Thus the observations of our intelligent foreigner restore the People, Chiefs, Emotionals, Intellectuals of an earlier society. It is easy to see these types in the Middle Ages, because they were then relatively fixed; less easy now when they are more interchangeable, and complicated by subdivisions and cross-divisions. Comte was thus a kind of naturalist who went about peering into societies past and present, discovering beneath all disguises and mutations these four perennial types.

Another formative contribution to social science was his generalization of "State" and "Church" as correlative Temporal and Spiritual Powers. In this he reached what is perhaps his master thought. The conception of all history as an interplay of temporal and spiritual powers is certainly not one that the passing generation has found useful, still less illuminating. But that, perhaps, may be explained by future generations as owing to the loss of the very notion of an independent spiritual power, during the dominance of an all-controlling State. As we pass out of the régime of States Germanic and sub-Germanic,

students of social science will doubtless recover the idea of Spiritual Powers and their nomenclature as well.

It was a tragic misfortune for social science when Herbert Spencer, in so many ways the immediate successor of Comte, threw out this conception of spiritual powers from the sociological exploring ship, as if it had been a worn-out or useless article. Let us examine this derelict article, this idea of a spiritual power as one of the two essentials of a community. It is rather a double than a single article—an idea and an ideal. There *ought* to be a spiritual power independent of the temporal power, educating and counselling it. In point of fact most societies have been and are more or less remote from that ideal. The temporal power has ever tried, throughout history, to make the spiritual power its obedient tool. *Vice versa* no doubt sometimes also. But to see such extremes is but a partial reading of history. Below the struggles of temporal and spiritual groups for mastery, there may be discerned a tendency also to a certain adjustment and co-operation, a true balance of powers. The ideal society

towards which this tendency points is one wherein the temporal and the spiritual power each enjoys complete independence within its own proper sphere. The Emotionals and Intellectuals—the Energizers and the Initiators of Mr. Arnold Bennett—organized as a Spiritual Power would, in the ideal instance, intervene in politics, business and industry only indirectly. Their influence would be brought to bear through education and the giving of counsel. The Chiefs and People—the Organizers and the Workers of Mr. Arnold Bennett—constituted as Temporal Power would leave the hands of the Emotionals and Intellectuals free and untrammelled in the maintenance of religion, the conduct of education and the prosecution of research. Such is Comte's forecast of the trend of history. Human evolution is for him a drama of temporal and spiritual powers moving through crisis of effort and trial towards a certain goal. That goal he discerned, through all failures and reversions as a balance, say, rather a Complement, of Powers. Powers not measured in weight of armament abroad or of police at home, but on their scales of values

material and moral, freely accepted everywhere by all men of goodwill, all classes, both sexes. A similar goal is foreseen, from a different angle, in the Pauline vision of spiritual achievement: "The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance."

The above conception of history as an interplay of temporal and spiritual powers must be distinguished from Comte's conceptions of science and philosophy. It is true he crowded all three into his sociological portmanteau. And he has paid the penalty of the overburdened traveller. His system has been undervalued and his reputation obscured for two generations by the criticism of philosophers with little history and less science; of scientists ignorant of history and indifferent to philosophy, and of historians innocent of science and philosophy alike. We may grant to these formidable hosts of assailants both limitations and defects in the work of their victim; yet few in principle as compared with their own.

Comte inherited, from the Revolution, the notion that society could be remade within

a generation, if men really set their mind to the task and with adequate knowledge. This too simple view of society was further emphasized by the bias of his professional occupation. For the teacher of mathematics can hardly resist treating all things as if they were fixed quantities with sharp edges and clear outline. And the teacher moreover is apt to be didactic, and even pontifical, out of the class-room as in it. But let us allow for such defects of time and place and personality, and ask: What service can be rendered us to-day by Comte's theory of history? Let us utilize it at least for the moment, and test its value in interpreting the current European situation. Maybe we shall find that the two generations which have neglected it have done so at their cost.

Is it not for want of a theory of spiritual powers that politicians and historians have half unconsciously come to believe in a supreme and unmoral State? And, alas! they have been successful in securing for this broken-backed view of history and its practical application in politics, popular acceptance throughout western Europe and America,

and complete triumph in Germany. Note the stages of this Rake's Progress. First, the State assumes control of elementary education. There the process happily so far halted in Great Britain. But in Germany it went on uninterruptedly towards its natural climax. The State control of the secondary schools and its intervention in the universities gave into the hands of the temporal power half the kingdom of the spiritual power. Next, by subsidizing a newspaper here, coercing one there and cajoling the third, the German State long ago organized its systematic interference with the freedom of the Press. Thus did the temporal power already controlling, through school and university, the main instruments of the "Intellectuals," extend its domain over those of the "Emotionals." The spiritual power in Germany increasingly, therefore, fell into the orbit of the temporal. There necessarily resulted the corresponding practice, that essentially of an organized Cult of the State. Coarser devotees adopted this with *abandon* under the title of *Realpolitik*. Finer spirits still retaining some sense of higher values, called it *Kultur-*

politik. The resulting division of the community into two camps, the respective adherents of *Realpolitik* and *Kulturpolitik*—the Tirpitzites and Hollwegites of the moment—may be taken as proof that the State cult has received such general acceptance as to leave room only for sectarian variations.

So far up to 1914. One thing was still wanting to complete the cycle of Temporal Dominion, and confirm the theory that spiritual powers do not count in this world. That one culminating triumph was a War which would impose this régime upon the world, and this so overpowering and dramatic as to be accepted for a manifestation of Destiny. This notion of THE War, with its dissemination of *Kultur*, has, indeed, for a whole generation or more, been fermenting in the mind of the German people. Given such pseudo-spiritual preparation, such corresponding material organization, it follows that the German communities were remorselessly driven, they and their rulers, People and Chiefs together, as a Temporal Power no longer restrained, towards the present issue of Ordeal by Battle, with the impulsion of a torrent in flood.

The normal practice of war, as the right hand of politics, had, to be sure, been perpetuated by civilized States in Europe as by barbarian tribes elsewhere. The relevant ideas had been discussed and even preached, by isolated thinkers from Machiavelli onwards. But it is not till we come to the modern German university, that we find the doctrine of exclusive temporality developed into a theory of history, an interpretation of human evolution. The scholarly labours and the speculative ingenuity of three generations of German professors gave to their theory of THE ABSOLUTE STATE, the necessary coherence, learning and prestige to afford apparently firm intellectual support to a temporal power, steadily rising to domination of the spiritual.

In the development of Machiavellianism into an accredited theory of history, the German universities did not, of course, stand alone. They were followed loyally—if at a respectful distance—by the other universities of Europe and America. Clearly it was not any original sin of the Germans, but their very qualities of thoroughness and persistence,

along with the conditions of political geography and history, that gave to their universities the primacy in this amiable quest. So ardent an adventure, pursued so successfully by successive generations of philosophers and jurists, economists and historians, philologists and savants, can be explained only by the momentum of deep underlying tendencies.

Since the decay of mediæval philosophy, there has been in western schools a continuous tendency towards temporal interpretations of history, supported by philosophies which, because of an excessive subjectivity, had their inevitable rebound in materialism.¹ Suppose, however, that this long-protracted subordination of the spiritual view be but the subjective equivalent of that externalism and individualism which, since the Renaissance, have been characteristic of art and industry. Make this assumption, and, in the light of Comte's great generalization, we see how the facts of recent history express but a passing

¹ Santayana, in his recent book, *Egotism in German Philosophy*, develops this theme with his customary clearness and charm.

phase in the abiding drama of temporal and spiritual powers. And this phase of temporal dominance having now reached its logical climax in a general war, its subsidence is now presumably due, with corresponding rise of a renewing spiritual power. It becomes, therefore, of the first importance to inquire into the possible development of this incipient spiritual power.

The Absolute State with its "will to power" has worked its way through every institution, agency and instrument, of the Spiritual Power. We live in an age of State-established or State-paid Churches, State-licensed and censored Theatres, State-regulated Schools, State-inspected Public Halls; and the war gave us, what had been customary in State-ridden Germany at peace—a State-censored Press and Platform. But what of the universities which, like those of Great Britain, have, in contrast to French and German ones, been claimed to be free of the State incubus? The universities are the natural trustees and custodians of the whole culture heritage. It is, therefore, to them, if to any institution, that we should

look for the germs of the renascent spiritual power and its due nurture towards maturity.

Suppose an undergraduate returns from the war, deepened in thought by his experiences, and aflame with these large issues. What course would he now pursue if untrammelled in the resumption of his studies? Would not his first concern be to look over and sample that medley of spiritual remnants which stand for the culture heritage? It is from these survivals or from renewals and recombinations of them that the new spiritual power must come. There are no other studies, since the university includes, or professes to include, the whole encyclopædia of knowledge. The university, as it becomes catholic in outlook and constructive in policy, must canalize these deep old springs of culture for social irrigation: it lets them become choked while it is somnolent; it even poisons them when it is partisan.

Our warrior student, with independence becoming his veteran's facing of stern realities, has, let us assume, resolved to explore for himself the historic resources of the universities and to make his own selection of his

culture seeds, instead of accepting the previous academic rationing of them. He will first turn to the courses of history proper. There he will soon find himself following two lines of study. First, he may read and visualize historic annals, and follow the rise and fall, the maintenance and subversion of dynasties, along with the record of the statesmen and ecclesiastics, warriors and adventurers, who have been the servants or the masters, the supporters or the supplanters, of the dynasties. But the development of government has its general and customary aspects, as well as its personal and family details. For these, there are correlative courses, as in the teaching of Public Law and Constitutional Government. Thus far our hypothetical student, in Comte's nomenclature will have been pursuing the history of the "Chiefs." If a Scottish student he will have divided his time between the Faculties of Arts and Law.

From these histories of the Chiefs, in the concrete and the abstract, our student may rebound to that of the People. What of the lives of the workers and their families, amid all this interplay of kings and ministers,

statesmen and politicians, ecclesiastics and warriors, with their war and peace games, their policies and programmes? Our inquirer will find some of his questions about the lives and doings of the people answered in the courses on Economics and Economic History, some others in the courses on Anthropology. But for the most part he will have to seek outside the walls of the universities his history of the people as workers. For until lately, with the success of the London School of Economics, historical investigations of such "socialist writers" seldom penetrated academic circles (at least in Great Britain), save as objects of rebuttal or contemptuous criticism.

Having gone so far in his historical explorations, our student might next ask: What have the thinkers and observers, the investigators and discoverers, the travellers and historians, the philosophers and men of science, been seeing and saying, doing and thinking, through the ages, while the chiefs have been playing their war and peace games, with the people footing the bill? For this problem—that of the historic rôle of the

“Intellectuals”—the student may be attracted, in the first instance, to the courses (if any) on the History of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts. For a course in the History of Science, he might, some years ago, have crossed the Channel and gone to the Collège de France. But that course, instituted through Positivist influence after Comte's death, has somehow disappeared; and no other university in the world (so far as we know) has yet thought fit to institute a regular course in this subject. The History of Geography he might, somewhat solitarily, pursue at Oxford, but not probably elsewhere in Great Britain. While, as for the History of Invention, it is doubtful if a subject so remote from academic interests is systematically pursued in any university outside Germany.

If the eager determination of our student has surmounted all the foregoing obstacles, he is fortunate, for the reward of his quest is in sight. He comes now, by easy transition, from the routine to the reality of historic culture—the history of art and literature, poetry and religion. While the Chiefs have

been governing and directing, playing and fighting, while the People have been working for them, the Intellectuals unveiling the secrets of man and nature, what of the Emotionals? Have they, too, throughout the ages, been singing and writing, praying and preaching, making music and beauty, creating homes and building cities mainly for the Chiefs? Or have they also served and guided, enlivened and ennobled the People, and if so with what results? These are the questions which the student who has travelled this road will have in his mind, as he enters upon the history of art and literature, poetry and religion. In this phase of his quest he will, if he means to make a thorough exploration, find himself mapping a devious course through the Faculties of Arts and Theology in many different universities which, added to his previous wanderings in the Faculties of Law, Science and Arts, would make his record as varied as the *Odyssey*. It is clear that the universities are not planned to facilitate access to the culture heritage. On the contrary they have barred its full inheritance, by their disarray of studies;

and so they help to enforce the Temporal Power against the Spiritual Order whose organ they are supposed to be. It is a practical impossibility under existing curricula for a student, within a measurable time, to achieve any adequate reading of the human record in its vital and essential aspects. How remote, then, seems that unification of the culture-heritage, that harmonious presentation of it, essential to its incorporation by our student !

For the universities, history is still too much the history of the Chiefs. If Ancient, it belongs to the humanities, and includes some modicum of the history of religion and art. If Modern, it is not very sure of itself, but often leans towards the rival camp of science. If Mediæval, it is anybody's; and so has been mainly taken possession of by the constitutional lawyers who share it with the theologians. Yet the vast labours of a century of specialist investigations into the various fields of history have not been ignored in the academic world. The detailed products of these specialist researches have been ingested by the universities, but not digested.

Hence one of the main causes of their distended curricula and their dyspeptic alumni. The accumulation of historic facts has grown to immeasurable dimensions, but the requisite synthetic conceptions for interpreting these facts have been absent, or of spurious coinage.

The traditional philosophies of history which were of genuine synthetic lineage, culminated in that of Comte. His immediate forerunners also made first-rate contributions; yet what academic student of history ever hears of Vico, except as a philosophical jurist? Of Montesquieu, except as a constitutional theorist? Of Condorcet, except as a revolutionary leader? Or even of Comte, except as a misguided philosopher standing apart from the transcendental German tradition? But these four, with Herder, are the founders of a synthetic science of history. Their work, without exception, has been done outside the walls of the universities; and there, beyond undergraduate reach, the guardians of academic learning have successfully kept that work and its influence. The statue of Comte stands well outside the Sorbonne. His spirit has scarcely entered

even the university of his own city, whose most historic voice he was. How much less can we expect to find the tradition he represents alive within the walls of other universities? In the space thus swept, if not garnished, there have entered the seven devils of that pseudo-philosophy of history, *Kulturgeschichte*.

What is this "history of civilization," masquerading as a philosophy of human evolution? Can we discern its place on the tree of knowledge, which it is the business of the universities to tend? In recent times, this tree has put forth a luxuriance of rank and disorderly growths. The buds, which the universities should select, and graft upon the tree of life that shoots afresh in each youthful mind, have been for the most part left to wither upon the tree of knowledge. The overgrown tangle of branches upon which Professors and Lecturers lavish their fondest care are called specialisms. A custom, imported from Germany, ordains that every academic gardener shall select some one branch and, on pain of ostracism, give his exclusive attention to increase of its growth.

Any one who ventures to place his interests on the tree in its entirety is soon made to realize that a modern university is no place for such an antique survival as himself.

How explain this academic perversion? How account for the taboo of those who are not specialists in the limited Teutonic sense? We submit the following explanation. If the State seeks to upset in its own favour the balance of temporal and spiritual powers, what more subtle procedure than to create and multiply divisions among the workers in the latter field? *Divide et impera* holds here as elsewhere. By an exclusive absorption in specialisms, the universities have unwittingly become the tools of an all-dominating State.

But the weakening of the university's spiritual influence by sub-division goes even further. The craving of the human mind for unity is not to be altogether baulked. In spite, therefore, of the specializing custom and the analytic vogue, there is a return movement of synthesis. But even this is emasculated by division into two water-tight compartments. The professed philosophers pursue

their dialectical quest, of an abstract unity. In isolation from the philosophers, stand the representatives of concrete historical unity—the composers of *Kulturgeschichte*. A mechanical putting together of oddments from innumerable unrelated specialisms, such History of Civilization reflects at once the spirit of its parent, which is the German university, and its grandparent, which is the centralized State. The futilities of abstract philosophy are thus matched by the confusions of this concrete Kultur; and the “Servile State” has its spiritual counterpart in the Abject University. Such is the natural progress of decay in the tissue of the body politic, once the balance of temporal and spiritual power is upset, by the former’s predominant influence.

To resume: The world has before it to-day many rival theories of history and politics. But of all these theories there are two so opposed in spirit and outlook as to make a clear-cut antithetical pair. One is the Temporal theory, predominantly Prussic, though abundantly manifested nearer home. It

affirms the domination of spiritual by temporal powers in the centralized State to be a normal equilibrium and one moreover of progressive evolution. The deduction follows that the Absolute State ought to be advanced by all the resources of art, science and industry, and stronger methods too, if need be. This theory, up to 1914, was held to be the normal expression of historic scholarship. It was taken for granted probably in every academic school throughout Christendom not organized on specifically religious lines. Implicitly or explicitly it has directed the main current of such thought as academic historians have put into the writing of their books, since the German school came into vogue with Mommsen and his compeers.

It is but fair to record that at the very time Freeman was infecting Oxford with the Prussic virus, the recoil in German historic scholarship had begun. Otto Gierke was already working out a more spiritual interpretation of juristic history. The seeds he sowed will doubtless find congenial soil in the German universities in the inevitable repercussion after the war; for the greater the

lapse from rectitude, the more scope for repentance, with its sequel of a fresh start in life.

The rival conception to the dominant German one we have called Gallic. It is really Galilean. Its political application can never be better put than in that aphoristic summary of ancient wisdom which directs the distribution of the things that are Cæsar's and the things that are God's. Comte's theory of history was but a vastly learned secular development of this principle. His *odium - anti - theologicum* notwithstanding, Comte was at heart a Catholic, though not Roman and orthodox, but Parisian and mystical. His devotion to the memory of an idealized woman kept him in sympathy with the cult of the Ideal Mother. His spiritual Utopia was an idealization of the Catholic Church at its moments of highest inspiration. Even his much-abused Law of the Three States was but an extreme modernist restatement of that noble heresy of Abbot Joachim, which came within sight of being incorporated into the doctrine of the mediæval church. But above and beyond all other evidence, is the

fact that the Positivist system of social Philosophy has for its corner-stone the anti-thesis yet correlation of the claims of God and of Cæsar. The conception of citizenship corresponding to this Christian principle was developed in the Middle Ages and ejected from the universities at the Renaissance. The moral void was filled in the nineteenth century by an interpretation of history, which suggested as at once the more profitable and the more submissive course, the offering of both portions to Cæsar.

The re-interpretation of history by the universities in a way more appropriate to their intellectual life, and if they are again to become an organ of the spiritual power, is thus long overdue. The generous mind of youth at its formative moments must no longer be shut off by academic blinkers from the spiritual outlook.

CHAPTER II

INTERPRETERS AND PROPHETS

IN France every man tends to be a peasant or a Parisian, albeit something of both. These are the dominant types of a people rich in range of local character and variety of national tradition. What gives to LePlay and Comte a special interest for the student of social science is that he discerns the French peasant superlatively incarnated in the one, and the spirit of Paris in the other. As in the pages of Huxley we see the world rigorously interpreted in terms of Anglo-Germanic natural science; so, the writings of LePlay and of Comte taken together offer a reading of human life and civilization in terms of a social science rooted at once in the soil and in the culture-tradition of France.

LePlay was the Normandy peasant who carried into foreign travel the intuition and experience of his native region. He observed,

compared and explained the life and effort of rustic labourers, diverse in kind and in many different lands. He thus acquired an acquaintance with the elemental phenomena of the human world comparable in its variety and grasp, to that view of the natural world which Darwin's wide-roaming *Naturalist's Voyage* gained for its author. Like Darwin, too, he reached in later life large and bold generalizations, based on observational evidence, collected with the same unwearied persistence, arranged and re-arranged, sifted and re-sifted, with the same patience of research, for illuminating clues. Finally, he came to his interpretation of civilization, and this, in a sense, carried its own verification; for it was in terms of its author's personal experience, and the regional life into which he was born and bred. Land, Labour and Family Tradition—these are the vital triad of the French peasantry. They are the underlying elements which LePlay discovered beneath all mutations of regional life everywhere; and at length traced into the great city itself.

As LePlay is the French peasant abroad, so Comte is the Parisian at home. His early

years were spent in Montpellier, the southern Paris. From there he went to the northern metropolis as a student; and the rest of his days he passed in the Latin Quarter. He caught and showed forth the spirit of Paris as no one had done before and none since, unless perhaps Victor Hugo. But Hugo's presentation is to Comte's as is that of its vividly imaginative painters and playwrights to that of the civic architects who have impressed order, indeed order sometimes too severe, upon the city's monumental plan. The *Legende des Siècles* is built out of impressions selected by intuition, wrought with the instruments of art and re-expressed by his torrential poetic genius. Comte, on the other hand, used the systematic labour of the scientific mind to sort out with magistral effort, and then to put together (for most of us a little too formally), into one structure, those elements of its being which have made Paris the most representative city of the modern world. For where else can one see so vividly the procession of history as in a pageant of daily recurrence?

In Paris it is not only through monumental

reminder, and the incidental archaism of custom, that the past survives. For there whole groups of people continue in daily routine the essentials of historic phases. The Parisian is peculiarly provided with the opportunity of re-birth in the classical spirit, the mediæval spirit, the renaissance spirit. So indeed are the inhabitants of other cities; as, for example, Florence, or to a less extent Oxford. But in Paris there persist rever-sionary trends which continually recreate the earlier phases, from fetichism onwards. While as for the modern and contemporary phase, its triple manifestations, as industrial, imperial and financial, have each at one time or another flourished in Paris, the two latter with rare intensity, though in other cities these aspects of modernity have settled themselves in more conspicuous dominance, as in the financialism of London, the militarism of Berlin.

By the instinct of sympathetic genius, Comte incorporated into his personality something of its essence from each and all of these manifold phases of civilization. He re-wrote history neither with the distortion of the

partisan nor the detachment of the archivist ; but in the spirit and as the philosophy of the city whose richness of life and variety of character are so peculiarly derived from the survival of the past, and yet where the daily re-combining of those elements has oftenest made the new growths of the future. Thus, for the first time in the literature of history, and of its philosophy—indeed, in the history of civilization—there were achieved, in the writings of Comte, these two things. One was a presentation of human evolution that looked backwards with intimate sympathy and informed understanding towards each main stage of the record.¹ The other was a confident looking ahead, in ardent faith and eager preparation for the time when this whole heritage of culture should become the common birthright of humanity.

¹ In claiming for Comte primacy in a presentation of human history at once scientific and sympathetic, we do not forget earlier works. Herder's masterpiece, the *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, for instance, was certainly a worthy precursor of Comte's work. But it was impossible for a court preacher, even at Weimar in the eighteenth century, to enter, with the requisite intimacy, into other phases of culture than that of his own tradition.

In exchanging the rôle of interpreter for that of prophet, Comte unfortunately did not content himself with conditional prediction : that is a legitimate, even necessary, instrument of scientific method. He did not say : " Here is my analysis of tendencies that are shaping the future ; here are my plans for ensuring that such and such tendencies come to maturity and be realized, and others discouraged, frustrated or reversed." Nor did he, with the reckless audacity of the prophet, exclaim in combined exhortation and threat : " Obey my counsels, or your society will come to destruction." But his mathematical bias was apt to bring his historic standard to its too absolute level, and thus committed him to fatalist predictions, dated and unqualified. Yet it is only fair to recall that he was wont to explain these as intentionally diagrammatic.

As humanist interpreter Comte reflected the spirit of his " Ville Lumière," and he raised that spirit to a pinnacle of clearer vision. As prophet he reflected the defect of civic life everywhere and at all times. In the shelter of their richly stored " winter

caves," and in enjoyment of a culture heritage that seems to defy time and dominate circumstance, the inhabitants of cities too easily forget the rustic origins from which civic life and power are drawn. Thus the unfulfilled predictions of Comte testify to the vanity of cities, as well as to the errancy of genius.

As regards his plans for the re-construction of society, their crucial defect is manifest to all students of LePlay. They were not regional. In drafting his practical projects, Comte, like other political thinkers of the Revolution, leapt at a bound from the thinker's closet on to the platform of the world. Of the innumerable varieties of local and national life and tradition, he took little more adequate account than Napoleon, Alexander of Russia, or Metternich had done. Hence his great schemes have correspondingly lacked actuality. But though they suffer this disability for immediate application to practice, they remain a matchless monument of social idealism. The numerous volumes of the practical treatise, the *Politique Positive*, are an immense cairn of stones, sometimes

rough-hewn, from which future generations will continue to quarry building materials for upbuilding the "Occidental Republic."

LePlay did not, like Comte, formally assume the prophet's mantle. He discreetly retained the Catholic peasant's blouse. But that did not prevent him looking around, with the keen scrutiny of the scientist, and ahead, too, with the sower's and planter's foresight, and making plans accordingly. These were based on his interpretations; yet sound as these were, they still retained the defects of their origin. The rustic mind, in looking ahead, towards the specific crops it desires from its definite sowings, will gain but a limited view of the future unless informed and supplemented. Informed more generally, by wider interest in living nature with her more varied sowings and growings; supplemented also by the civic sense of historic manifoldness. Thus it is easy in the light of Comte's vast historic researches to puncture by specific criticism the practical proposals of LePlay and his disciples of "La Réforme Sociale." Their remedies, alike for labour troubles and for war, although far

from valueless, can only be described as simplistic, when one recognizes the complexity of every problem of the modern world, the momentum of historic survivals also.

Putting aside, then, the detailed projects of both Comte and LePlay as being of historic interest and suggestive value, though not workable in details, let us ask what is left of immediate service? There remain the results of their labours in the interpretation of human evolution and its continuance. It is our contention that the two systems of research are complementary; and that taken together they constitute an armoury of principles and methods, a treasury of resource insufficiently recognized and still less adequately used. To find lines and methods of inquiry, symbols and formulæ for the representation of matters of both observation and reason, is the aim of scientific method. And to this aim few have contributed more than have both Comte and LePlay.

It is the misfortune of subsequent sociology, that the two schools which continued the work of each of their respective masters have never come together, to combine the historic

retrospect of Comte, the economic scrutiny of LePlay, and the forelooking habits of both. The two schools, as they grew up, followed the modern specialistic tendency of thought and action, to diverge. Each suffered the ultimate fate of cleavage, into a more scientific group ever drifting further apart from that of more practical application, and conversely. In each school there has thus arisen, on the one hand a band of disciples holding fast by the Master's practical maxims, and dedicating themselves to the exposition and propagandism of the original doctrine; and on the other a group of continuators interested mainly to extend and develop his thought.

It was not till the 'eighties of the nineteenth century, that anything in the nature of a collective and systematic effort was made to bring together and develop the interpretative formulæ of both LePlay and Comte. In mingled continuity and revival of the old Franco-Scottish tradition, there was started about that time in Edinburgh, an extra-academic School of Sociology which set before itself that synthetic endeavour amongst other

purposes. Its record of publication is inconsiderable, because it has been in its working even more a school of practical than of pure sociology. But nevertheless a certain number of theoretical memoirs have from time to time resulted from its speculative labours.¹ Its aim has been to maintain in due logical separation, the speculative from practical issues, and yet to work deliberately and experimentally towards their interaction, by what might be called the Laboratory method of social and civic activity.²

From recent publications of this Edinburgh school we select one for reference, and that for a double reason. In the first place, it was, like the present volume, an endeavour to popularize the joint regionalist-humanist doctrine, and to demonstrate its practical value for contemporary life and thought. In the second place, it afforded an example of what we believe to be the proper method of

¹ For a comprehensive synthetic endeavour see "Civics as Applied Sociology," by P. Geddes, in *Sociological Papers*, Vols. I and II (Macmillan & Co., London, 1906 and 1907).

² See Zueblin, "The World's First Sociological Laboratory," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1899.

prediction to which social and political science lends itself. Planned in 1911, written in 1912-13 (in the intervals of much travelling), the book was published in the spring of 1914.¹ In this book the characteristic formulæ were put to the service of a critical and constructive survey of the European situation. The writer was led to predict a widespread war as impending, but by no means inevitable. And in that distinction between the contingent and the fatalistic resides the essential quality of scientific prediction. A painstaking discrimination between the particular and the general is, of course, also a necessary element in scientific foresight. Thus it was not mere war—war in general—that was foretold, but a particular kind of war. By its definition as a “War of Transition” (between phases of social evolution discussed in detail) the threatened conflagration was classed in a known category; and related to contemporary movements of known character.

A scientific prediction is thus a definite

¹ *Interpretations and Forecasts: a Study of Survivals and Tendencies in Contemporary Society*, by Victor Branford (Duckworth & Co., London, 1914).

contingency disclosed by analysis of observed and verified tendencies. The prediction is necessarily accompanied by a similar analysis of modifying tendencies, and also of contrary ones. In point of fact, the bulk of the book was devoted to an examination of tendencies running counter to the threatened conflagration. That effort, to divert attention from destructive to constructive issues was indeed the writer's personal contribution, however insignificant and belated, to point the way from wardom to peacedom—towards arrestment of the dominant war-ward processes, and towards advancement of the corresponding peace-ward ones; in fact to advance beyond the *Kriegspiel* in which our adversaries have been so strong, towards the *Friedenspiel* they have had so much less thought for.

Between these two antagonistic currents, one making for war, and this necessarily of transition, and the other for a peaceful way out of the threatened deadlock, there were intermediate elements refractory to scientific analysis. One of these was Time, and another the complex happening we call Accident.

Time might have been on the side of the peaceful tendencies, but for the series of political "accidents" which in the summer of 1914 gave the reins of power into the hands of professional war parties in Berlin, Vienna and Buda-Pesth.

It is important to notice that time and accident themselves incline to favour those particular tendencies which are most in the focus of attention. The mere prediction of an issue, therefore, creates a current in its favour, proportional in strength to the faith it inspires in the public mind. The prediction of evil or of good may thus become a decisive factor in the determination of the issue. Hence some justification for the unpopularity of Cassandras of every variety and at all times and places. Hence also an additional reason for accentuating the importance of social theory; since social predictions, however dogmatic, no less than social policy, however conventional, alike rest on, and appeal to some sort of reasoning. And such reasoning is of the nature of sociological "Theory," little though most like that name; unless we are to be indifferent to

consistency, hostile to exactitude, and repugnant to the hard test of verification.

The gist of what we have endeavoured to say is expressed in Comte's own forcible phrase: *Voir ; Prévoir ; Pourvoir* ("See to foresee; foresee in order to provide").

In social seeing there are three stages. There is observant seeing, with the eye of the geographer and the economist—their outlook upon the region and its resources, material and human. There is the discerning seeing, with the eye of the historian, or say rather of the humanist, which is no mere retrospect, but a looking around for that vitally persistent past which is the very spirit of the present. Then there is the foreseeing vision; and this alike of danger and of hope. In this the prophets of old excelled. May not the science of to-morrow recover something of their power? It predicts evils likely to come, if we continue as we are; but also what better future is possible if we mend our ways.

Each of these elements of social vision is

twofold, having its receptive and its creative phase—its scientific and its practical side. For the regional outlook there is the receptive mood of enumeration, classification, assessment of resources, in a word the Systematic Survey; but there also arises the corresponding Policy of conserving, organizing, developing the resources of the region. In this the United States have led; but as we write, the British Empire, under stress of war is forming its Resources-Commission also. The humanist outlook invites, on the one hand, to receptive contemplation and æsthetic enjoyment of the culture heritage; yet on the other it prompts to a creative policy of selection from this and of education into its real acquirement.

In the prophetic forelook there is the receptive mood of dream and wonder; there is also the creative mood of struggle with evil and arousal of good.

Similarly: three corresponding sets of plans emerge. The Regionalist has his Rural and City Reports with their plans of improvement and development. The Humanist elaborates his plan towards progress and order.

The Prophet announces his ideal; in fact, his plan of salvation. What, then, is the task of the Statesman? Is it not to harmonize these triple resources—these correspondent policies of possibility—material Reconstruction, individual and general Re-education, and moral and social Renewal—into their vital harmony, their working unison?

CHAPTER III

ON THE HIGHWAYS

As students and interpreters of cities we watch, with Comte, the rise and fall of Temporal and Spiritual Powers. We follow the drama of their action and interaction. We observe that cities are the citadels of temporal strength, and yet also the centres of spiritual influence. But of cities themselves is not their permanent vital support the peasant's corn-sack? There is a cynical point of view from which Temporal and Spiritual Powers are rival efforts to dip into the corn-sack brought to market by the peasant with such pathetic regularity. We do not say this is a sufficient point of view, but it is a real one. It is fundamental, not supreme.

On this rustic foundation LePlay builds his system. He is the philosopher of the corn-sack, as Diogenes was of the tub. His guidance we seek on quitting the civic spectacle, the historic phantasmagoria, for a

journey in the country-side. With his aid the rustic drama may be observed in its unity and interpreted in terms of regional life and labour. But it is a necessary preparation for profitable travel with LePlay to get a clear grasp of these terms—Region and Regional.

Consider, for instance, that ever-growing "Literature of Locality" which is at once realistic in description of scenery and environment, yet romantic in disposition and outlook. The Lowland novels of Walter Scott make the best-known example. They would in French be called *littérature régionale*. And the adjective would be a matter-of-fact characterization, carrying none of that taint of provincialism, with which a metropolitan critic thought to annihilate the Barrie school of fiction by the epithet "kailyard." The first consideration, then, is to clear the words "region" and "regional" of all deprecatory meaning, and sharply to distinguish them from "provincial" and "parochial" in so far as these words convey narrowing limitations. Yet let us agree that the word "regional" shall also cover, and concentrate in itself, all those

qualities of local colour and tradition, with raciness of the soil, which are implied in the old phrase of *genius loci*.

When we say that a Bishop has diocesan functions, we mean that his work lies in a district encompassing both town and country. But we mean more than that; for the word diocese carries a spiritual flavour as well as covers a geographical area. The Region is, with certain qualifications, the sociological equivalent of the ecclesiastical Diocese. True the regional sociologist, in the first place, accentuates the geographical aspect; and the Bishop the spiritual. The former observes men as he finds them; the latter is occupied in raising their moral potential.

A further reservation is needed to prevent misunderstanding. In claiming "regional" as a scientific equivalent to "diocesan," we are somewhat looking ahead to anticipated, or at most incipient, effort rather than actual custom. To go by mere geographical usage, we should have to confess that the science of the schools has not yet given the term an intensity corresponding to the higher reach and implication of "diocese" in its full

ecclesiastical sense. This deficiency may be a symptom not unconnected with the difference in prestige between a Bishop and a mere sociologist.

There is a "Committee for the Promotion of Regional Survey," which with the current year is becoming the Regional Association. As their labours and those of fellow workers extend, the observational basis of social science will broaden and thereon must grow up a more concrete science of society, one which will earn for its exponents a fuller hearing, a growing measure of influence. And the work of this Association—by promoting the finer and more definite usage of this word "regional"—will contribute something to the incipient renewal of pride and tradition of locality. The immediate object is to cultivate the regional outlook. The first step is to look at one's own region; to look into it as into an ancient mirror reflecting the epitome of human effort. The next is to look at and into other regions. And there is no better procedure for this comparative survey than to arrange a country holiday accordingly.

Suppose a French student of the regionalist

school arrives at Dover from the continent, with the intention of spending a few weeks' holiday in seeing some representative regions of southern England. What will be his itinerary? The ordinary traveller on landing at Dover begins his railway journey to London by burrowing under the chalk hills called "Downs." But our regionalist having resolved to maintain and enjoy the use of his eyes, and of his legs also, has renounced the mole-like habit of the tourist. He ascends the Downs, and starts on a route which for most of its course will be a pilgrimage of watersheds. This will accordingly correct and supplement the limitations of the customary low-level travel by road, railway, or waterway. But the rewards of the regional pilgrimage are by no means confined to scientific observation, or even to the scenic splendours which open in successive vistas from height to height. There is also the magic of the Downs. That is an enchantment which roused to a moment of comparative rhapsody even the sedate author of that mild geological manual called *The Scenery of England*. Listen to Lord Avebury's encomium

on the Downs: "The air is cool and pure, crisp and sweet! Being generally in grass they are silent and peaceful, giving a delightful sensation of solitude and repose, heightened rather than interfered with by the occasional tinkle of a sheep bell, or the cry of a plover. The Downs present a series of beautifully smooth swelling curves, perhaps the most perfect specimens of graceful contour, and are covered with short, sweet, close turf. Turf is peculiarly English and no turf is more delightful than that of our Downs—delightful to ride on, to sit on, to walk on. It indeed feels so springy under our feet that walking on it seems scarcely an exertion."

London is the focus of roadway and railway travel in central and southern England; but it is the elevated chalk table-land called Salisbury "Plain" which has longest been centre and focus of the highways of the same great region. It is along these highways that we propose to take our continental regionalist. They radiate from the district of Salisbury Plain like spokes of a wheel. Disregarding geographical and geological niceties, and speaking in a broad and general way, we

Stonehenge, perhaps a Royal Commission might be set up to settle the date of its origin. Private individuals have done their best, but each started with a pre-conceived theory, with the result that their estimates range from the Stone Age to as recent a time as a century before the Norman invasion.

The most generally accepted date is probably that deduced from astronomical considerations by Sir Norman Lockyer, who carefully orientated the avenues at Avebury, some 15 miles north of Stonehenge, and concluded that they were constructed about B.C. 1700. At that period they would have served to fix the Pagan festivals in May and November by their position with regard to the rising sun.

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these spokes. The (I), presents this ways; which may by looking up the road of Mr. Belloc,

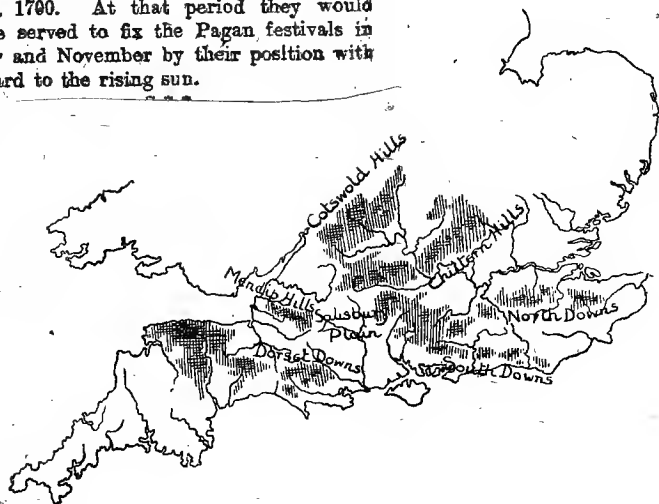


FIG. 1.

one of the very best of our regional geographers, and this, long before he made his reputation as a military critic.

The monumental remains at Stonehenge mark the point of convergence of ridgeways that carried the ancient traveller over the

radiating moorlands. A few years ago, the then proprietor of Stonehenge caged it in a ring fence of barbed wire. The charge of a shilling for admission naturally roused strong opposition. The Society for the Preservation of Commons and Footpaths took the case into the law courts. For seven days the learned Judge listened to the arguments.

On one side was the contention that Stonehenge was "the early Cathedral of the British race," and that deeply scored roadways converging on it across the Wiltshire Downs preserved the evidence of public approach. On the other side was absence of the evidence apparently required by law that a road only becomes public when it has been "dedicated" to that purpose by some landed proprietor. The Judge's decision was, that no public way led up to Stonehenge! The Society thus lost its case (at a cost of £4000, hard-earned funds), and the public lost their putative right of way. Divergence could hardly go further between ancient custom and modern land law.

From the variety of courses offered by the Salisbury table-land as a centre of travel,

our continental pedestrian has to plot out a series of journeys that will show him the characteristic regions of central and southern England. Keeping to the old-time highways of the ridges and the hill-sides, he wishes

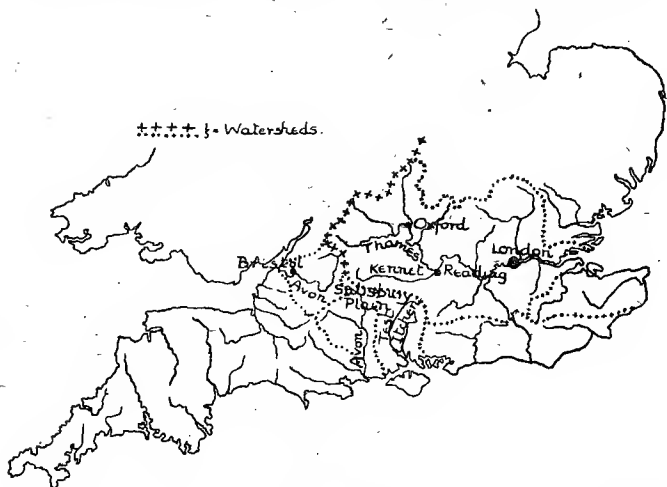


FIG. 2.

to view therefrom what may be seen of the representative plains and valleys lying below his path. Here a diagram map of river basins will help us, for the river is always lord of the valley and sometimes of the plain also. Which, then, of these many river valleys will be selected for exploration?

By comparison of Figs. 1 and 2 it will be noticed that four river valleys converge around Salisbury Plain and the adjacent highlands. These are the valleys of the Thames-Kennet, the Bristol Avon, the Salisbury Avon and the Test-Itchen. Our traveller will, therefore, naturally want to see something of all these four river valleys. Having schemed out the general plan of his journey he will rely on maps and guide-books for the detail.

But the ordinary literature and cartography of travel will avail him little, for these are made to suit the needs of travellers by the low ways along the valley floors which have usurped the name of the ancient and original highways. These latter survive from the early ages when pastoral man fed his flocks on the natural pasturage of the Downs and had his home on the dry and treeless soil of their slopes and hill-tops. The valleys in those days were for the most part choked with morass, woodland and forest, the haunt of wolf and wild boar, marten and wild cat. To this old England of the pastoral age belong the megalithic remains of

Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain, and the still more remarkable ones of Avebury, lying between Salisbury Plain and the Cotswolds. Evidence grows towards proof of a complex civilization centring in these trading and spiritual foci of the Downlands. The gathering interest in unravelment of its record is producing a whole new literature of travel. Adding to this the literature of revived interest in the mediæval pilgrim journeys, which also tended to follow the old highways, there is a considerable resource for our continental regionalist. And it may be noted that for regular use of the green highways we do not need to go back to the flint and the bronze age, or even to the mediæval pilgrimage. They were used for cattle-droving right up to the time of railways. There are said to be still alive old folk in the villages along the base of the Downs who remember the dark line of animals silhouetted against the sky as the west country drover moved his cattle along the ridgeway to the London market.

There could be no better general introduction than Mr. Belloc's *The Old Road*. This will

carry the traveller from Dover onwards well towards Salisbury Plain. His journey thither can be completed with the aid of Dr. Williams-Freeman's *Introduction to Field Archæology, as illustrated in Hampshire*. To the same order of Downland travel-book belongs Mr. Hippisley Cox's *The Green Roads of England*. This book gives a clear presentation of the whole system of "Green Roads," but departs from the more accredited archæological view in treating the congruent civilization as wholly neolithic. With the aid of Dr. Williams-Freeman, our regionalist friend may survey from the vantage point of the ancient highways, the valley of the Salisbury Avon, and that noble remnant of primeval England, the New Forest, and also the valley of the Test. Mr. Hippisley Cox's book will enable him to see something of the upper Thames Valley and also something of the valley of the Bristol Avon. Finally, there is Professor Fleure's analysis of evidence as to the state of the country when the green highways were main lines of communication not only for southern England, but also afforded through-routes between the continent, England and

Wales.¹ In a masterly re-synthesis and from well-observed data Professor Fleure presents us with a vivid picture of that ancient civilization as the social geographer sees it.

The immediate object of the regionalist Rambler in his recourse to this new literature of the old moorland life is, to be sure, different from that of the writers mentioned. He is concerned only incidentally with the observation of tumuli, the resurrection of forgotten roadways or other objects of pious memory or archæological interest. His purpose is not anthropological but æsthetic and geographic. He will hope, with due anthropological aid, to enjoy the beauty and wonder, the majesty and the memory of the ancient moorland life. But he wanders on the high moorlands with eye turned not to the past but to the present. His object is to seek out and reach certain vantage points, where the moorland itself sinks into mere foreground, and there rise into full view stretches of

¹ "Geographical Distribution of Anthropological Types in Wales," H. J. Fleure and T. C. James, *Anthropological Journal*, January-June, 1916.

the river valley that meanders below. Hence the chief use of the books mentioned is to direct the regionalist traveller to the passes, the high places, the escarpments and the hill-tops from which may be seen the adjacent valleys.

To take a single illustration. One of the indispensable view-points is Uffington Camp, on the Lambourne spurs of the Berkshire Downs. Standing here on one of the sacred high places of Britain, immediately over the Great White Horse carved on the chalk escarpment, the spectator thrills at once to memory and to scenery. There unfolds to inner vision, first the story of early man and his struggle with the forest, then the epic of Alfred; and to outer view the superb panorama of the upper Thames Valley in its sweep from the Cotswolds to the Chilterns. For full historic appreciation Mr. G. K. Chesterton's *Ballad of the White Horse* should be carried in the knapsack for evocatory use at Uffington Camp. And at appropriate spots elsewhere on the Downs may be substituted for Mr. Chesterton's historic muse, the more naturalistic verse of Swinburne—

“Higher and higher to the North aspire the green,
smooth-swelling, unending downs;
East and west, on the brave earth’s breast, glow
girdle-jewels of gleaming towns;
Southward shining the lands declining subside in
peace that the sea’s light crowns.”

Our pedestrian traveller on the green hill-ways is no regionalist, if he does not, in the course of his journey, gather impressions which compose into one grand picture. A picture in which, indeed, the central interest will be historical, if we mean by historical the unfolding of that abiding interplay between human society and geographical environment in which each undergoes continuous and correlative change for better or worse. It is a drama of evolution in which both Man and Nature play an epic part.

At the dawn of British history we see the highways set over the far-spreading tangle of wood and swamp infested with carnivores and fever. Round Stonehenge and Avebury met the streams of influence whose mingling has yielded the riches of our ancient traditions. The bronze workers and the tin seekers, the gold prospectors, the refugees from the Eastern Mediterranean, spreading

through Europe to West Britain, seem to meet there the men whom archæology has followed from the Scythian plain to our eastern shores. And who shall say what in the stories of Arthur and Merlin is not a memory of struggles in the ultimate fusion of these ancient elements of British life? Again, with the coming of Iron, the west is the conservative stronghold of Bronze. Had the Roman Invasion not overshadowed it, we might doubtless have had evidence of other kinds, besides the legend of Wayland Smith, to tell us of the meeting of bronze and iron civilizations in the future Wessex. Next, reading between the lines of scanty Anglo-Saxon data, we perceive a long struggle with varying fortune between Briton and invader. For resultant is created a composite unity. It uses the invader's language, it cherishes the sanctity of Glastonbury, it idealizes its Alfred, re-incarnation of the spirit of Arthur. Every legend is to the regionalist on the spot no mere story for the fireside, but an integral element in the spirit of the place. In this way, combining mythopoesy with interpretative travel, our Rambler soon comes to see and feel

the great Downs of Wessex as the region of intermingling and fusion of British traditions, and so a main spiritual matrix of the national life. A deep significance thus attaches to the fact that it was Anglo-Celtic Wessex (British in the full rich sense) that helped the beginnings of English literature, that gave the commencement of political unity under Egbert, that led the resurgence under Alfred, that played a majestic part in the flowering of the Middle Ages, and has in our own time powerfully stimulated the "literature of locality" with William Barnes, Thomas Hardy and W. H. Hudson.

The historical factor in the regionalist outlook it were better perhaps to call evolutionary. For the latter word conveys the necessary implication of continuity with the past, but directs attention also to the present and to the future. It is, then, the evolution of the Region in (so to speak) a joint partnership with Man, that is the topic and the theme of the regionalist. It is the story of Man's movement from the high ground of the Downs to the underlying valleys, and his deeds

therein, that makes the main thread of the drama which our regionalist rambler is engaged in reading in the course of his journey. With the wresting of the valleys from the grip of wild nature and their occupation by human societies come interactions and complexities, whose resultants accumulating through the ages give rise to the tangled web of modern life. In our struggle to-day with the Burden of Evil, how often are we baffled through inability to reach the primary elements of the situation! We need a method of analysis which will lay bare the roots of social causation. And it must be a method which shows the interrelation of man and environment, of people and place alike in country and town. The beginning of such a method the regionalist claims for his "Valley Section." How this valley section naturally arises during the regional survey it is easy to see. Our French friend will, in the course of his perambulations, have extended his observations to the valleys of the Thames and the Bristol Avon. Let him make what geographers call a "section" of each, and putting them together from west to

east he will have before him a diagram like this—

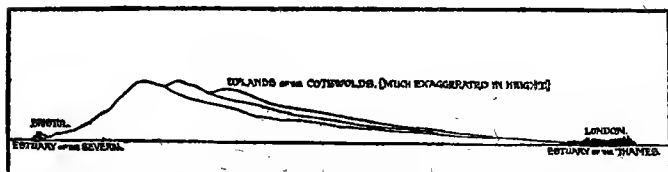


Fig. 3.—Section through valleys of the Bristol Avon and the Thames.

Now a glance at a relief map of Scotland, of the Scandinavian Peninsula, of Central Europe, South America and many other parts of the globe, shows that a section from west to east would make a diagram similar to the above section of southern England. The Rhine-Danube valleys, for instance, are just an enlarged version of the Avon-Thames valleys. In short, we have here one of the most characteristic pieces of earth structure. The river valley may be taken as the typical geographical region, but the linked river valleys on opposite sides of a low water parting may often be a more comprehensive and fully representative area for sociological study. Such valley sections are the elemental diagrams of regional survey.

The first aim of the survey is to see the world as scenery—in terms of river valleys, their mountain or moorland sources, their hill-side walls, their upland plateaus, their lowland plains and their marine or ocean outlets. Again our typical regionalist, Mr. Belloc, who unites both English and French experience in a rare degree has, in his *Path to Rome*, described a piece of the world as he saw it from successive upland vantage grounds. “When I call up by myself,” he writes, “this great march I see it all mapped out in landscapes each of which I caught from some mountain and each of which joins on to that before and to that after it till I can piece together the whole road.”

But the regionalist sees the world not merely as landscape. In his survey, the river valley appears next as clothed with characteristic vegetation, varying with soil and subsoil, with contour and slope, with rainfall and sunshine, and with man's influence above all. And when one valley is compared with another, and their plant associations studied, an ideal or typical linked

valley section can be built up: on the steeper western slope, coniferous¹ forests on the higher ground, and mineral-bearing rocks on the lower. Barren hill-tops mark the divide, and down the gentler eastern slope, woods with their wild life, then upland sheep pastures, then poorer arable lands and finally the richer plain through which the river meanders. Within each belt of natural products, the suitable human occupation appears, and with this localized type of worker his characteristic family life. Thus, in succession from west to east, there emerges in the typical valley—or linked pair of these—the miner, the woodman, the hunter, the shepherd, on the higher levels; then the poor peasant or crofter with his oats and potatoes on the thin soil next to the permanent pasture (his light plough not so long ago his mattock); then the prosperous farmer with his deep plough and wheat on the richer soils; and finally, adjacent to the city, where the river widens to estuary or sea, the busy gardener with his spade. At the mouth of the river the fisher with his net completes this series

¹ In England, more frequently, oak.

of main regional occupations. Such a representative section with its characteristic occupational types may thus be diagrammatically represented.

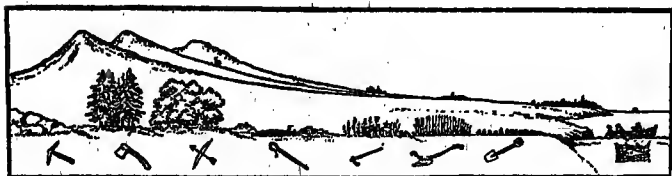


Fig. 4.—Valley section, with typical vegetation and characteristic regional occupations.

Presented in more graphic yet still frankly conventionalized fashion, the same regional panorama of environment, with its occupational types, is shown in the full-page block which we owe to Mr. Mairet's pencil. From this still much simplified rural outline are omitted the towns and cities indicated in Fig. 4 that grow up at the points where the various rustic belts mingle, or where the lateral valleys emerge on the main valley. Comparing in bird's-eye view the actual Avon-Thames linked valley with the "ideal" or imagined unit, we note wide departures, yet also considerable conformity. On the relatively steep western slope, there is not

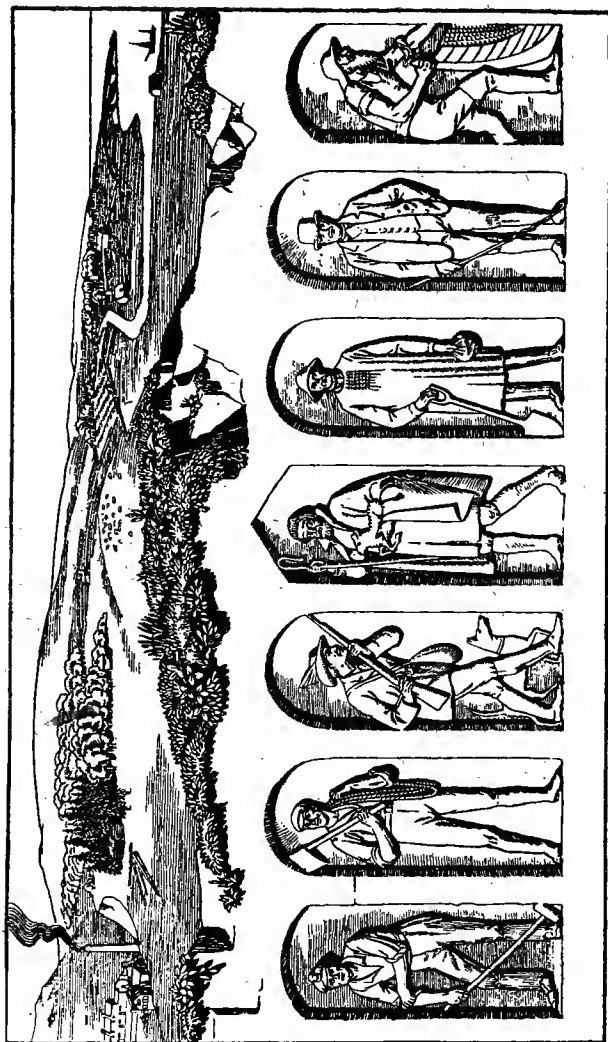


FIG. 5.—The Nature occupations.

only the Bristol coalfield, but also the famous " Bathstone " quarries, from which have come the building materials for not a few public edifices and private houses in London. The coniferous forest of the typical western valley is absent; but, as the traveller crosses the divide he notes that the western side with its larger rainfall is better wooded than the eastern. On the long gentle eastern slope, the first feature to catch the eye is the upland pastures of the Cotswolds. Is, then, the forest hunter of the typical valley absent? Not altogether. Travel a few miles northwards to the lateral valleys that link the Thames with the Severn basin, and you find yourself in a region beloved of the sportsman. Cirencester, for instance, the chief town of the upper Thames, is one of the main sporting centres of England. From there the well-equipped horseman can hunt with a different pack of hounds well-nigh every day of the week from Monday to Saturday. The turf of the Cotswolds, it is true, has not that elastic quality which makes the fame of the turf on the Downs, but it has merits which bring horsemen to Cirencester, not only as

a Mecca of fox-hunting but also of polo-players. But what of the sylvan cover necessary alike for the food of foxes and the supply of game for the sporting gun? That which nature has denied, the art of venery has supplied. The great game-forest stretching from Cirencester to Sapperton was laid out and planted in the eighteenth century, and may be inspected to-day as a representative paradise of that domesticated variety of hunter called sportsman.

'Tis true that for a fairly close approximation to the standard or "ideal" type of region, we must go further afield than the Thames Basin, and choose a river descending from more mountainous regions, through less populous lowlands, to an estuarine city, more limited to its immediate region than is London. Any of the larger eastern river valleys of Scotland with its western link will serve. Take the Orchy-Tay as a sample linked-valley. On the steep western slope are coniferous forests and here and there a granite or other quarry. On the long and gentler eastern slope as we descend from source to sea, we see how at nodal points

there have naturally arisen distinctive types of village, town and city, each congruent with the local environment and its characteristic occupations. Beneath the vast hunting desolations of the broad mountain tops lie pastoral hill-sides. Below these, again, are scattered arable crofts; and sparsely dotted hamlets lead us to the small upland village of the main glen. From this, again, one descends to the large and prosperous village of the foot-hills; with its railway terminus where lowland and upland meet. Whether we look to east or west, each similar mountain valley has its analogous terminal and initial village upon its fertile, fan-shaped slope, and with its corresponding minor market; while next, central to the broad agricultural strath, with its slow meandering river, stands the prosperous market-town, the road and railway junction upon which all the glen villages converge. A day's march further down, and at the convergence of several such valleys, stands the larger country-town, at the tidal limit of a till lately navigable river. Finally, at the mouth of the estuary rises the smoke of a

great manufacturing city, a central world-market in its way.

There are three traditional ways of land travel: the hillway, the roadway, the railway. Each is characteristic of a particular phase of civilization and has its reaction on the mentality of the traveller. The hillway traveller sees the glory, the wonder and the variety of the world. He sees it region by region and so observes it as a natural whole. In other words, he is acquiring the regional outlook, and he correspondingly develops the synthetic habit of mind. The roadway traveller sees more a succession of detached impressions, with less frequent opportunity for synoptic vision. His habit of mind tends, therefore, to be analytic, and in general view is apt to be but abstract.

And what is the mental reaction of the railway traveller towards the objective world? At the beginning of a railway journey, the faces of your fellow-passengers are invisible, being immersed in newspapers and magazines. At the end of the journey you observe

on their countenances the marks of weariness and boredom. They have too much missed the opportunities of mental refreshment that come through the simplest observation; and, being half conscious of the omission, they are correspondingly sorry for themselves and annoyed with others. Instead of sitting in receipt of a wealth of direct impressions, they have occupied themselves in seeing but indirectly through the eyes of those merchants in spiritual traffic who, in the words of one of the most successful, "buy paper and sell it inked." Thus is the mental outlook of the railway traveller turned the more surely towards the idols of the market, the theatre and the tribe. These flourish luxuriantly amongst townsfolk fed on print and rhetoric, starved of nature contacts, denied historic culture.

Man's conquest of the air has added to the ways of locomotion a new mode which promises to reverse the railway tendency towards the de-regionalizing and de-spiritualizing of travel. For the airman sees again the natural regions of the world, and these more than ever of old, in broad and synoptic vision,

which again is intensified by the ecstasy of flight, to inner clarity and unity. By a strangely appropriate turn in the whirligig of time, the "highways" of the airmen would seem to be again concentrating towards Salisbury Plain, as did of old the ridgeways of the hillmen. Against the regional focus of roadways at Cirencester, and of railways at Swindon, the more artificial concentration of London has prevailed. But will not a fresh rivalry proceed from Salisbury Plain in competition for the favour of the race of airmen? The call of Stonehenge will surely be renewed in the nascent age of aerial locomotion. And the doctrine of regionalism, with its accompanying synthesis and implied political and educational transformations, must needs be more and more heard among the vivid *élite* of this first generation to master the art of flying. It is no accident that to the development of this doctrine and to the perfection of that art, France has alike contributed so eminent a share.

CHAPTER IV

THE RURAL PROBLEM

LEPLAY is the father of scientific regionalism. He has taught us to think in terms of regional sequence. His line of reasoning begins with the soil and its natural products; it continues with man, the creature of work and place; it culminates in man the builder of cities and creator of arts and sciences; and it returns through all the vicissitudes of war and peace to end again in the soil with its fertility renewed and increased by the hand of man, or ruined and destroyed by the same hand. The tale of that cycle, in its full complexity, is the history of civilization. The merit of LePlay is to have insisted on the elemental beginnings and to have elucidated their continuity throughout the cycle. Let us consider some examples.

The chalk Downs of southern England when left to nature develop their carpet of herbage and reject all other vegetation.

Probably since the age of flint—some say during a score of millenniums—this pasturage has continuously carried its flocks of sheep and its community of shepherds. Even to-day there are on Salisbury Plain men who have been shepherds from father to son, certainly for centuries, and probably far longer. In this prolonged interaction between environment, occupation, and family life there evolve certain human dispositions and social traditions tending to fix the pastoral type. A simple analysis will make this clear.

For the shepherd, survival and prosperity are determined by the numbers and quality of his flock. His habit of mind and mode of life, renewed from generation to generation, thus inevitably take their stamp from the character and aims of his occupation. His ideals of success and achievement will be correspondingly coloured, and will tend to be expressed not in terms of things, as with the flint or metal worker and his successors the modern engineers whose aims and mode of thought are so widely dominant to-day, but in terms of quantity and quality of life. The monuments of this pastoral culture in

an early age were the megalithic temples of Avebury and Stonehenge; and in a later one, combining with peasant constructiveness it reared the soaring spire of Salisbury Cathedral and the noble towers of Winchester. These architectural creations fittingly express the ever-renewing quest of life more abundant.

Passing from the shepherd to the peasant type, let us visit with LePlay a hill-side farm on a southern slope of the chalk Downs. Yielding to the fascination of that psychological analysis which, to be sure, should crown rather than initiate the observations of the regionalist, we will begin by inquiring how the farmer, too, like the shepherd, has his habits of mind shaped by his occupation. The peasant, in so far as he is a stock-breeder, will naturally tend to select and breed superior types—cows that will give more and richer milk, horses that are fleet and stronger. Survival value, therefore, for him, also comes to be measured by capacity to maintain and improve quality of life. So, too, for his crops and pastures. There is the same economic thrust towards selection and improvement of seeds and soil—for

instance, one kind of pasture carrying twice as many cattle to the acre as another. The ideals of the peasant thus tend to be expressed in terms of quantity and quality of life, as do those of the shepherd. Yet less directly and insistently with the peasant, because he is nearer to and more involved in the urban market, with its modifying tendencies towards "business."

Turning from psychology to economics, we note the farmer has ploughed up and put under crop a portion of the old grass downland. His arable is gradually creeping up the hill-side, and as it goes it is transforming to agricultural use the traditional pasturage of the shepherd. But simultaneously the flocks of the shepherd increase and need more pasturage. Thus in the drive of economic pressure there begins the struggle for existence between shepherd and farmer, between the pastoral and the agricultural type of family. The strife is, in our modern complex community, overlaid by many interactions, which obscure the simpler issues. The farmer, for instance, may purchase the shepherd's flock and hire the shepherd himself to

continue its care as a wage labourer. That transformation has, indeed, become long ago normalized in all the countries of western Europe. It means, none the less, disruption of the pastoral group; and this with all the changes in social function and structure which are implied in that break-up of an old-rooted form of community life. The shepherd's sons go to town, and in the furnace of the city they are transmuted into types apparently new, but really variants of the primitive one. How often, for instance, do they become porters, railway guards, and policemen? Or, it may be, poets, painters, divines? In either set of cases they gravitate into positions where the traditional qualities of the pastoral life—its trustworthiness and imaginativeness, its habitudes of life-service and its instincts of spiritual aspiration—may again count in the social struggle. Or, again, they lapse to levels which bring out the traditional defects of the pastoral life; hence they also too often become unskilled labourers, or even recruit that artificial urban residuum which we call the vicious and the criminal classes.

Returning to the chalk country from this urban excursus, let us note some further events of to-day, on that ancient homeland and centre of English pastoralism, Salisbury Plain. Just as the farmers have been tending to oust the shepherds, so now another elemental type of human occupation is encroaching on and even expelling the farmer. It is not very long since Aldershot sufficed for the field manœuvres of the British Army. Thence the soldiers extended their operations to Salisbury Plain. The farmer had to give way to the soldier, the agricultural to the military community. And even before the war, with its new urgencies, there had for a long time proceeded a steady encroachment of the camp upon the farm. Here again is no mere local and transient transformation; like the struggle of farmer and shepherd, it is one of the formative processes of history. Scratch the soldier and you find the sportsman; and within the sportsman persists that most elemental of all occupational types, the hunter.

Now consider the primitive hunter in his original milieu and normal mode of life. The persistence of the hunting tribe demands

an ever-enlarging area in the pursuit of game for livelihood. The hunting community, from the very nature of things, sooner than most modes of life, exhausts its field of supply, and is driven with irresistible pressure to extend its boundaries. The desire for territorial expansion thus becomes implanted as a tradition, and fixed as a habit of mind in the hunting type. The manner of its persistence and activity in the many varieties and mutations of the hunter type throughout past and present, and in contemporary society, is one of the many re-writings of history and of contemporary sociology which are awaiting monographic treatment by the LePlay method. In olden times the history of Dominion used to be written with rapture by the Bards of the Conquerors. Nowadays it is recorded with dullness by their prosaic successors, the academic historians. Sometimes, however, it is composed by the apologists or the satirists of the conquered. It has occasionally been written for the People by the romanticists of urban labour. All these "histories" now await re-interpretation by the realists of rustic labour.

Let us examine somewhat more minutely the psychology of the hunter. For him survival and achievement is in the measure of his bag of game. Success, therefore, is in terms of the successful infliction of death. His habits of mind will be similarly oriented and his ideals of life correspondingly coloured. So far, then, we have in sharp contrast the shepherd's ideals in terms of quality of life and the hunter's in quantity of death. W. H. Hudson, the prose Burns of the Downs, in his enchanting study of *A Shepherd's Life*, contrasts the characteristic attitude of the gamekeeper and the shepherd towards wild life. The latter readily extends his loving care from domesticated to wild animals; he seeks to protect them, and tends, therefore, to create in his grazing area a sanctuary of wild life. Says Mr. Hudson: "The gamekeeper cannot have this feeling [of habitual tenderness towards wild life]. He may come to his task with the liveliest interest in, even with sympathy for, the wild creatures amidst which he will spend his life, but it is all soon lost. His business in the woods is to kill, and the reflex effect is to lower, if not

extinguish, his interest in the living animal in its natural life and mind." And naturally so, since he must needs mainly think of it as an opponent to be defeated, taken captive, expelled, or slain outright.

The mere contrast of pastoral and hunting psychology is by no means the end of their story. Recall how the shepherd is ever needing new pasturage and the peasant new tillage; while the hunter himself with fiercest urgency demands increase of hunting-grounds. Conflict inevitably ensues. The shepherds become nomadized in the worst senses, and raid the peasant communities accordingly. These defend their settlements with ramparts and walls, and their young men are encouraged to play the warrior in self-defence and in counter-attack. But the peasant, most pacific of occupational types, is longest resistant to the combative life; hence there arises the immemorial custom of tribute from agricultural to predatory pastoral communities—blackmail, in fact, and leading to "civilized" developments too numerous for outline here.

Where in this incipient drama of regional destruction comes the hunter? He, only too

readily of all, turns man-hunter; and this not merely because it is congruent with his natural occupation and the highest intensification of it, but for an even deeper and subtler reason. In the hunting community, it is the young men who, by their greater prowess in the chase, become the leaders of the community and who direct its course in terms of the dispositions of youth. Thus is the hunting community impelled to the warrior life by the double drive of occupational tendency and by the combative instinct of the young male. A new rôle, therefore, opens to the hunter in the conflict of occupational types. He unifies and organizes the peasant, the shepherd, and all the others for war. To begin with, perhaps, it is inter-local and inter-tribal war, next it is inter-regional war, and so on to the greater wars which have culminated in the struggle of our own day, in which all these primitive factors and their working are still so plain.

Now facts have been accumulating to support a generalization which, if it be confirmed, is of great significance for human development. Each characteristic regional

occupation tends to generate in the communities that live by it a particular set of qualities and also of limitations and defects. The generalization is that true co-operation—complex co-operation, that is, as, for instance, in the war against the primitive forest in the English valleys—among occupational types tends not only to develop their occupational qualities, but also towards eliminating the occupational defects; while on the other hand inter-occupational conflict tends to develop the defects of the combatant types and to deteriorate or eliminate their qualities. But as we have lately been having experimental proof, war becomes a form of inter-communitary conflict with inter-occupational co-operations corresponding: and these develop qualities, and even to a certain extent eliminate defects. That the hunter, early in his career as organizer of war, learned to use and develop this moral potentiality of war, as well as many others less pleasing, may safely be assumed, as well as read at large in history or seen anew. His capacity to use war for its evocation of good as well as of evil, for raising and not simply lowering the moral

potentiality of a community, has thus endowed the hunter-warrior with a spiritual range of which the extent may far exceed, and the intensity well-nigh rival, that of the shepherd-prophet. Thus we come nearer to understanding that surprising docility which has characterized so many peasant communities throughout history, under the exacting domination of the hunter-warrior.

What of the future evolution of this potent occupational type? What clues are there to suggest the possible development of its more constructive rôle? Recall that, as the shepherd, the sailor, the peasant, with their craft-knowledge of the stars and the seasons, have laid the foundations of astronomy and the mathematical sciences, so from the craft-lore of the hunter have come not a few main beginnings of the organic or natural sciences. The hunter as naturalist undergoes a normal development that runs, in a measure, counter to that of the hunter as warrior. Dwelling in the haunts of animal life, he comes to know the beasts of the forest and the field with an intimacy that, at least in those individuals of gentler temperament and

meditative habit, must make for the care rather than the destruction of life. But probably this trend of tenderness and meditation operates on the hunter mainly through his children, for these in their manner of being and their ways of life are so close to the young of animals as often to make pets of them. And here, as in so many other ways, the children may be educators of the parents.

The trend of circumstance thus impels the hunter in two opposite directions. One is a turning to the lust of death; but the other is a turning away from it, towards a loving care for, and interest in, life. If the latter mood comes to dominate the former, there results that transformation of character known theologically as "conversion." Spurred by the latter impulse, the hunter sees the vision of St. Hubert, which thus takes its place, not yet as a normal, but as a supernormal metamorphosis. The problem is, how can it be normalized? There the sociologist may leave it to be discussed between the naturalists themselves and those who continue the tradition of pastoral ethics.

But the remark may be permitted that we are recommending not a foreign but a domestic mission. We have stated the problem as for the inhabitants of the primeval forest. But manifestly it is in principle not dissimilar for the preservers of pheasant coverts and the owners of grouse moors, for shooting tenants and hunting squires. Regarded as a contemporary problem of civilized societies, this age-long question of the hunter's conversion may seem remoter than ever from solution, in face of the widespread arousal of reversionary elements indicated by the war. But suppose that the generation antecedent to the war had, throughout all classes, in every belligerent nation, been afforded ample opportunities for display of hunting prowess at the onset of youth, when combat with the elemental forces of nature is instinctively sought; and suppose the occasions so provided had been designed to encourage the qualities and virtues of the hunting life, and to discourage or reverse the hunting defects and vices! These assumptions do not seem extravagant, when we reflect that the Boy Scout movement

starts from this outlook, and at its best aspires to realize these ideals in the oncoming generation. The greatest significance then attaches to this initiative. May it not, in fact, turn out to be the very greatest of all our English contributions to the real advancement of education?

This movement in its origin and growth recapitulates with curious fidelity the natural divergences of the primitive hunting life. Already two well-marked types of Boy Scout begin to appear. In the one the incipient warrior tends to subordinate the naturalist, and in the other the naturalist the warrior. The "Lone Scouts," with their emphasis on forest craft and the use of the camera in the stalking of animals, illustrate the latter change. And that Baden-Powell's boys have exhibited so little tendency to the former change, even in these military days, shows how far the movement has gone towards re-establishing that process of conversion, which anthropologists and psychologists agree in considering as organic and not exceptional, however later conditions may have made it seem so.

Their latest achievement well illustrates this ethical tendency. The founder, in a recent letter to *The Times*, informs us what the Boy Scouts are doing to counteract that increase of juvenile crime which has shown itself not only in belligerent countries, but even amongst neutrals—a strange combination of mass suggestion and occupational reversion. He writes as follows—

“For checking the increase of juvenile crime the municipal authorities of one great centre called in the help of the Boy Scouts a few months ago. As a result a system has been established whereby each Scout takes at least one street boy under his charge, and brings him in as an honorary member to use the Scouts’ clubs, and to play in their games, and practise their hobbies, thereby gaining improved environment and activities. We find that the worst Hooligan soon makes the best Scout; he only needs direction for his adventurous energy and attractive pursuits to fill a void. So soon as he proves his worth he is given an armlet to wear as a ‘temporary Scout.’”

Here assuredly is seen at work one of those "moral equivalents of war" which William James foresaw amongst the social inventions of the future. To extend and multiply such instances is to advance the process of converting the perennial hunter that is in every youth. That other and higher stages of ethical operation are required to complete and maintain the good work so begun, no one will deny; but none the less we may rejoice over this return to nature which is even already justifying the best teaching of LePlay even more deeply than that of Rousseau. This educational philosophy has now to think out and organize opportunities for constructive application of impassioned youth's creative impulses. The problem is one for town and country alike. And it is not to be forgotten that, from the rustic standpoint, the central issue in the matter of war and peace is: How to effect and maintain the conversion of the hunter?

CHAPTER V

THE ROOTS OF DEMOCRACY

THE principle of interpretation for which LePlay stands we shall consider in a somewhat methodic way in a later chapter. But first we would drive home its moral significance and political implications by some further illustrations chosen as supplementary to those given in the last chapter. And in order that the illustrative examples may be considered on their merits, we plead with the critical reader to bear in mind a large reservation. It is this—that we do not put forward the persistence of occupational traits as an exhaustive explanation of modern and contemporary types, but as a basal factor in their development and success in life.

Auguste Comte is popularly supposed to be a Radical, a democratic man of modern science. But he makes his contribution to

sociology from the standpoint of the hierarchy of feeling and genius, of the aristocracy of action and thought. Conversely, it is Frédéric LePlay whose point of view has been utilized and applied in the foregoing chapter—and who is popularly supposed even in his own country to make his appeal to capitalist and conservative, to aristocrat and priest—who has really established for us the vital doctrine of all democracy; which is only becoming apparent as Liberal nonsense of the Sovereignty of the People, defined in terms of the Infallibility of Majorities of the electors of county, city, and parish of Buncombe, goes the way of the once current Tory nonsense about the Divine Right of Kings. Comte sees the great stream of Humanity; but in this he calls attention mainly to the Calendar of Great Men, to men of genius as Her chief servants. But patrician and priest, once established in power, are apt to regard proletarian and woman as little better than grown children, to be guided and governed by their elders, pastors and masters. For LePlay, however, worker and woman unite to form the elementary human family, and

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from them, not only by bodily descent, but by social descent—that is, from their everyday life and labour—there develops the essential fabric of institutions and ideas, temporal and spiritual. No blossom, however rare or marvellous, whether of practical, intellectual or spiritual genius, but comes ultimately from this humble root—this tiny seed of simple daily human life—

“The lord is hay, the peasant grass—
This wood, but that the growing tree.”

With Comte and the historians we visit the historic dome of Aix, and thrill as we read “Carolo Magno” upon its vaulted floor; but with LePlay we see first the living, everyday Charlemagne, a solid, thrifty Frankish farmer striding round his estate, seeing that his stewards keep accounts even of the eggs—that is, have the assured wherewithal to maintain cities in peace, armies in war. We know the northern Lords of Battle—our Cœur de Lion, our Bruce—from legend or history; Le Play shows us first of all the viking axeman, not the coronet; he sees in their axecraft, the poise and swing and skill of woodman, of

house- and boat-builder over Scandinavia or Canada to-day. The historians, Gibbon or Comte or Sir Walter, all explain for us much of the present-day by help of the survivals of the past; but LePlay, like Lyell, explains to us the Past from the actual Present.

The method is less romantic; there may be some disenchantment in learning that the commanding, the supremely self-assertive, dignity of Norman noble was based on the swift decision and authority, the necessary and unquestioning obedience which necessarily springs up on board of every fishing-boat; and that the hauteur of Lady Clara Vere de Vere comes not from a hundred earls or even jarls, but from the simple ancestral fisher-carle, whose boys must learn to look sharp with the sail while he sits by the helm. The individuality, the independence of the women of western Europe is for LePlay neither American nor New; it is the direct product of the life-conditions of all North Sea fisherwives, whose men pass their lives at sea, or in intervals of rest when they return; so leaving their women-folk, indeed compelling them, to develop the

qualities of man and woman in one. And when the mother has to be father too, then the eldest girl, however small, must be much more of mother; so responsibility begins early, and here as everywhere gives individuality for its fruit.

In America it is, where democracy has free play, and where it is less confused by old developments and survivals of all kinds; that the natural growth of things is most obvious. How the stout axeman carves his way to fortune, wealth and power—"From Log Cabin to White House"—is one of the most threadbare themes; and who does not see "Poor Richard" as a canny Yankee, and Emerson as his more spiritual brother?

We may follow the same elemental clues into many phases of life. The dull and unimaginative wealth of England and America, which so seldom gets any realities for its money save sorrow for its children, is half explained when we read the story of the Industrial Revolution, and see how the nobler leaders of the working class have been constantly wasting their lives in barren politics; or yet more clearly when we follow

the fate of Robert Burns, and then see how it was left to too many of the grosser and duller types, the Arkwrights and their like, to drudge or gripe or crush their way to fortune.

Or let us now take race with occupation, and in the concluding struggle of the Civil War, ask what is the duel of Grant and Lee—of Grant the hammerer with Lee the strategist—but the fight of heavy and downright hitter with wary and skilful gipsy guide? And if we ask for light on Grant's racial type, what more characteristic than when he says, "I will fight it out on this line." For (all the better if unconsciously) he is renewing the age-old war-cry of his clan: "Stand fast, Craigellachie!"—the only possible strategy in holding one's narrow glen. And if Strathspey look to the American a small outlandish place for breeding the ancestors of a hero of his continent, let him look in his atlas and see what coast, what river-mouth in history must have borne first the shock of the all-victorious Norse migrations which were to be the unmaking and making of Europe. Then he will see that these Craigellachie folk are of one of the oldest

fighting breeds, the children of King Arthur's vanguard, the children also of his victors.

This elemental way of looking at all men and women is no doubt to many a commonplace, at least in general terms. They know that if rank be rank, there must lie under its stamp the gold; that rank is not mere stamp: that men must rise to rank, develop rank, attain rank through function, and in the measure of the reality and range of actual deed. That the war-duke is a soldier at his highest, the admiral a seaman at his best, no one will ever deny; but he who doubts or forgets that there is the stuff of viking and admiral in every fishing village of Devon or of Fife must surely have forgotten that Drake or Jean Bart or Paul Jones were but such pirate-venturers (some say Columbus too), or that the kings and nobles of Europe are proud to represent the younger branches of existing Norse peasant and fisher stocks. As the child is father of the man, so is the worker of all men; and it is time to be thinking less with the politician or the cleric, of the worker as a child (to be led by the nose or educated

respectively), but to recognize in him, according to his kind, the stuff of each type however highly developed—of skill however masterly, of genius however sublime, of virtue however pure.

Thus, as James Watt, instrument-maker, Glasgow, is the master smith of the eighteenth century, so Lord Kelvin was but a subtler avatar of the same craft-type in the nineteenth; fundamentally, of course, neither lord nor professor nor wrangler, but just the best Glasgow instrument-maker in his time and turn, developed by the problems which his life there among the shipbuilders and electricians brought him. So Whitworth, so Armstrong were swordsmith, arrowsmith; all the inventors, in short, are Thinking Smiths, be they lords of peace or war. Again, they who read the secrets of life are the Thinking Rustics: thus Pasteur was the thrifty Jura peasant, Darwin the Midland truant and poacher, fancier and gardener, happily only half settled into squire.

Even in more abstract thought the same principle holds. No philosopher, however sedentary, should need much introspection

to recognize his profound kinship here with the dreamy and dreary loafer, there with the restless and careless tramp, rustic or urban, as his case may be.

Next, why does the coal-master or iron-master, the master-weaver or master-smith, change his politics as he becomes landowner and lord? It is not primarily a change of society; the man is not a mere snob: but he inevitably leaves the direct and simple rationality of the workshop for the cautious empiricism of the field; in a word, from artisan he has become peasant. Here for the first time he realizes the limitations of argument, the simplifications of legislators, the complexity of life and labour. In short he becomes aware of his own ignorance in dealing with human affairs, and so his simple Liberal formulæ, made in Birmingham or Manchester, repaired in Newcastle, applied in Westminster, lose their former hold upon him. Little wonder that he lapses from grace—deplored by his successors in the party, until the call comes for them also to go up higher in their turn, and there help him to let well (and ill) alone.

CHAPTER VI

THE REGIONAL DRAMA

WE have now presented in brief outline the salient thought of the two French schools of social science, respectively regionalist and humanist, which have been in the shade during the Germanic vogue. We have tried by exemplary illustrations to exhibit their mode of working and its resulting interpretations. But we have as yet affirmed rather than demonstrated their co-ordinate and complementary character; and it must be confessed that their respective adepts, the disciples of Comte and of LePlay, have seldom realized this need. We shall, in succeeding chapters, at least reassert and illustrate their co-ordination in and through the doctrine of Civism; but first we would reinforce the regional interpretation of men and things by a recapitulation and bringing together of the various analyses already

made according to the LePlay method. In presenting such summary and restatement through the concept of Regional Drama, we trust to strike the synthetic note also.

In the forest and uplands the hunter ranges ; his tools are primitive, he runs on foot, he wins his life by perpetually risking it ; he is in peril when the stag or wild boar turns at bay ; he risks the precipice and the fangs of the beast of prey. As yesterday it was the young man who won at Bisley, or who now gets the Victoria Cross, so among hunters the speed and endurance of youth count for more than the cunning of age. And though it seems probable that women and not men invented the noose and the hook, yet inevitably from sheer necessity, and not merely from the brutality of men, the women of the hunting people are drudges and burden-carriers, the brief beauty of the young girl speedily wearing into the withered plainness of the squaw. For imagine London with all its restaurants abolished and even its convenient Lyons' tea-shops and A B C's vanished ;

the city once more a lonely stretch of swamp and low hills, and the few remaining Londoners compelled to get their meals by killing the wild beasts and birds. Instead of the men carrying parcels for the women then, sheer common sense would compel the London woman to insist on carrying everything possible, that the man might be free, his hands carrying only his missiles, and his muscles fresh and untired, to run swiftly or creep cautiously after any eatable creature that he might see.

If the hunter can increase his radius twofold, he increases the area of his hunting-grounds fourfold. So the hunter is the expansionist. Should another hunting group appear in the neighbourhood not too near, each will drive the game towards the other; let it approach too closely, and the game is so far diminished that starvation is threatened. The remedy is obvious; it is War. And because the hunter's ideal is the successful infliction of death at any risk, he passes naturally from the noble hunt of the stag to the noblest hunt, the hunt of Men. So the Hunter becomes the War Lord, and the War

Lord in all subsequent stages remains the Hunter, from the time of Nimrod to the time of Theodore Roosevelt and his crowned compeers upon the thrones of Europe. Lord Kitchener knew that the hunt is the best training for an officer, and laid out a great game-park in Khartoum on that principle. In Scotland, Skye has been a prolific home of generals, a little Ireland in fact; and in England, Devonshire, the last habitat of the red deer as well as a land of fisher-ports, is also the birthplace of Drake and Hawkins, of Raleigh and Frobisher, of John Churchill the first Duke of Marlborough, and George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

The hunter is not the only inhabitant of the river basin. Farther down a clearing has been made, agriculture has begun, and by degrees one primitive industry after another is evolved, and a wide range of occupations develops the constructive arts. The shepherd appears upon the downs; poor peasants plough the foot-hills and rich peasants the plains; while in sheltered and sunny spots fruit trees are planted, and in the rich alluvium intensive gardening develops. Then the

woodman comes up, and sets to work to fell the trees which give cover to the game, and sends the logs down the river to the mouth for the fisherman to make his boats. The hunter now becomes not merely the warrior, but the organizer of war. He embroils his valley with the next one, and shepherd and peasant, woodman and fisher, all alike accept his leadership. It is not only because he is the most efficient man at this particular task; but also, because, deep in the subconscious mind, men are all hunters at heart, having behind them countless generations of hunting ancestry. Thus the ploughman watches his opportunity to set a snare for a rabbit, and takes even more pleasure in catching one than in driving his furrow straight; and the artisans in industrial cities give their free afternoons to watch the hunting mimicry of football.

The hunter is the man of imagination. The strenuous vivid life of the chase, the full meal after hours and perhaps days of fasting, creates a vivid dream life and the sense of the other world. As war lord, the hunter must needs have his chaplain. He has

even his theory of religion; and makes his own interpretation of the religious ideas of the shepherd and peasant: his interpretation being that all those things belong to the dream world, and may very likely be realized in that life after death which is regarded as closely related to the dream world. Colonel Maude tells us to-day that religions were invented in order to drive cowards to fight and slackers to enlist. On the whole perhaps this is the theory of religion most normal in the Mechanical-Imperial-Financial age.

“For John P. Robinson, he
Says they didn’t know everything down in Judee.”

What they knew in Judee would be good for Sundays; what they did not know, *e.g.* cut-throat euchre, the gentle arts of adulteration and commercial competition, and the invention and use of machine guns, are real and practical and the business of weekdays. But as a matter of fact all religions are practical, and the best of them spring from the actual life and work of the shepherd and peasant, when these, in comparative freedom,

develop their own mentality and express their own ideals.

In that Wonderful Century that lies around 600 B.C., Buddha preached in India, Zoroaster in Persia, Confucius in China, the Book of the Law was found in Jerusalem, and the formative period of Greek religious thought began. From the hills of Palestine came those conceptions of pastoral ethics expressed for us in such phrases as "The Lamb of God," and "The Good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep," and this good shepherd is no mythical personage, but real and actual, as many a tombstone in the churchyards of the Downs, the Cheviots and elsewhere bears witness.

The other occupational types also have each of them their natural ethic, rising into natural religion. But it is only in the pastoral life that self-sacrifice develops directly from the occupational disposition, into highest sanctity of moral elevation. In other types the normal tendency runs less in this direction, indeed in a descending ratio from peasant to hunter. In the hunting occupation, the conditions of survival tend, as we have seen, in an opposite

direction. The idealization they culminate in is not that of self-sacrifice, but of other-sacrifice.

Hence, if there is to be an approximation towards the pastoral ethic, on the part of the non-pastoral folk, there is need for a transformative process of conversion or re-birth; and correspondingly the theory and practice of religious regeneration will naturally arise. And this will not be without its use in the pastoral life also. For even the shepherd requires conversion. There remains in him enough of the old Adam (*i.e.* the primitive hunter) to turn bandit on moderate provocation. Yielding to that temptation, he backslides to a lower moral stage—quite literally he *de-grades* himself, from shepherd to hunter.

Coming now to the peasant we may recall how the vine and the olive growers of Greece slowly developed the idea of Olympus into the idealization of the perfection of humanity of either sex and all ages—Eros, Hermes, Dionysos, Apollo, Hephaestos, Zeus; Hebe, Artemis, Aphrodite, Athene, Hera, Demeter. These divine creations are the imagined

perfections or super-norms of the human life cycle in that peasant milieu. In contrast to the pastoral ethic of self-sacrifice, these are thus also the complementary ideals of self-development.

Passing further eastwards let us illustrate from another type of peasant milieu. In Persia, where the desert has most contended with the oasis, was born the most strenuous of religions. It called on man to bear part in the arduous fight against the undying powers of evil. But with the advance of the desert, this religious effort narrowed into an acceptance of the fatalism and pessimism of Omar Khayyám, that gardener-lover who saw his roses die for lack of water. Again consider Buddhism. Is it not the last great effort of the tillers of the Plains of Northern India, so prolific of life, but swept by wholesale death, to reconcile the contradictions of nature? Again, in Confucianism is expressed the ethics that spring from the minute and conscientious labour of the cultivator of rice—above all his social and family co-operation.

Such are the great religions of the world; they are all real and practical, they all deal

with actual everyday life, and their aspirations relate to here and now. True, "they didn't know everything down in Judee"; but, knowing however little, they knew that little with a clearness and thoroughness that are not so easily attained now; and that little was what is best worth knowing. The Churches have made the advice, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven," so familiar that it has come to appear to men as a meaningless exhortation; but if seriously examined it is seen to be the first and last word of statesmanship. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" The implied answer has become an apparent paradox; but it is nothing more than the most elementary common sense.

CHAPTER VII

TOWN AND COUNTRY

IN tracing the outline of the Regional Drama, we followed the rôle of the occupational types from primary work, through mutual interplay, up to manifestations of religious activity. But the place where dramatic action is intensest we omitted from the story. Where in the regional drama come the town and the city? To that question we now turn.

In a previous chapter we assumed our continental Rambler to have traversed the southern edge of the Thames Valley, turned northwards at the Cotswolds, and walked some distance along the western lip of the hills in which the main stream rises. He would come to vantage points in the Cotswolds from which striking panoramas unfold. Eastwards the eye traces out the gathering head-waters of the Thames. Northwards

stretches the great English plain of multiform undulations, amidst which the Thames Valley itself is but a trough. Westwards is the valley of the Severn, rising on its far side into the beautiful outline of the Malvern Hills, and beyond these, visible on an occasional clear day, is the dark edge of that ancient mountain mass which is the body of Wales, and, as geologists tell us, the parent of the English plain, built up from its detritus.

Thus from the vantage points of the Cotswold uplands, many regions invite to further exploration. But we will suppose that our visitor decides to make the return journey by road down the valley floor, intent now not on comparing regions and enjoying scenery, but on the study of that labyrinthine problem, the relation of town and country. We will pause with him in one of the small towns on the eastern Cotswold slopes, that serve as market and educational centre for their district. Such a place is Chipping Campden, once a town of some importance when the wool industry was at its height and England was learning the secret of the Flemish manufacturing cities. Sinking later, well-nigh to

the status of a village, Chipping Campden has undergone some revival in our own days, thanks largely to the migration thither of Mr. Ashbee and his group of art workers from East London.

A walk through the High Street of Chipping Campden shows, not one or two survivals of mediæval and renaissance architecture, but a whole sequence of notable edifices, public and private. The church and the market-hall, the rows of gabled stone-built houses, all compose into a vision of civic dignity and beauty. You ask who planned and erected these buildings and ordered their lay-out and their proportions, so that the whole, from great church to cottage, unites into a single harmony. You are told it was the work of local masons, who built without architects and, as it were, like bees, by tradition, not by book-learning. Mr. Ashbee tells us that an occasional survivor of this type of master-craftsman is still to be found amongst the masons of the district.

A long day's walk down the valley you come to Oxford. By general consent the High Street of Oxford is among the archi-

tectural masterpieces of the world. Coming into it direct from Cotswold towns and villages you discern at once, if not the secret of its beauty, yet the manner of its coming into being. It is a magnified and glorified version of the High Street of Chipping Campden. The conclusion leaps to the eye that Oxford was built by Cotswold masons, who came down the valley bringing with them the limestone of the hill quarries, and with it the aptitudes and tradition, the social and cumulative instinct, of their craft. But who and what were the masons?

Throughout the history of civilization it is the peasant who is *par excellence* the builder, as the Germanic word *bauer*, in its double meaning of builder and peasant, aptly recalls. Those early shepherd communities whom we have seen moving with their flocks over the upland pastures, came in time to cultivate the southern slopes and passed from the purely pastoral to the mixed agricultural and pastoral life. The hill-top encampment, remains of which still survive at intervals of a day's march all along the Downs, gave place to the upland village; and as the valleys were

cleared of forest and drained of swamp, the market town would appear at junction of roads or ford of river. In the latter case the town might the more readily grow into a city like Oxford or Westminster, because the river added both its traffic and its perils, thus calling for spiritual aids and remedies and yielding the toll to pay for them.

Wherever the peasant fixes his home or takes his goods to market, there he builds for permanence, with the materials of the region—limestone in the Cotswolds, brick in the clay bottoms like East London, timber in the oak-forested slopes of the West Country. In building, the peasant unawares becomes the citizen. As the hunter organizes all the varied rustic types up and down the valley for war, so under impulse and direction from the peasant, they become organized for the building and the maintenance of towns and cities. Into this urban co-operation each regional type brings the material of its occupation and the characteristic traits of its exercise. The quarryman comes to town with his building stone and tools, and remains there as mason: the forester as car-

penter or engineer. The shepherd brings his wool and his stuffs, and remains as weaver, clothier, and what not. How the pastoral habits of mind and traditional outlook tend to give the shepherd as citizen a certain moral leadership we have already seen.

The distinction for us moderns between town and city turns on numbers of inhabitants and on administrative machinery. But going back to the times before we gave ourselves body and soul into the hands of politicians, lawyers and statisticians, we find the distinction was not quantitative and material but qualitative and spiritual. The cathedral which, in former times, gave civic status was no mere building or even passive place of worship. It was the living and throbbing organ of social life which gathered into itself, and re-expressed as corporate individuality, the finer aspirations of citizen and rustic alike. To its building, maintenance and functioning were given the best services of the workshop and of its craftsmen, because it afforded an abiding opportunity of expressing through the medium of their craft, at once their own personality and ideas, and

those of their city and region. The common notion that the Church Militant became a spiritual power because it created the arts and the sciences, is in a sense true, yet so stated it reverses the natural order of things. The Church Militant became a spiritual power because, through it, the arts and the sciences of the day were able to function freely and creatively. In the measure that the church ceased to afford that spontaneous outlet, it was not a spiritual power, however powerful and even spiritual it might be. But the cathedral when fully alive did, indeed, spiritualize its place and people. In other words it made a town into a city.

Let us try to show our continental friend, as we convoy him down the Thames Valley, how our towns and cities are to-day being made and unmade. We shall doubtless arrive at some town on a market day. We take our stand amid the stalls and the booths of the country folk, who have brought to town for sale a variety of goods both in bulk and sample, for the maintenance or the delectation of the townsfolk. We halt in this town for the night, and make a second perambulation

through its streets on the following day. The market place is empty, the stalls and the booths are removed. But the shops and the warehouses remain. Their contents are manifestly the stored accumulations of produce direct from rural or maritime sources, or manufactured at one or more removes from the primary products of peasant, shepherd and miner, of hunter or forester or fisherman. In other words the shops and the warehouses are permanent booths and stalls, and we shall doubtless not be far wrong if we represent to our companion that these shops and warehouses derive their origin and their maintenance largely from rustic and seafaring folk, who, having come to market, have stayed in town for good and ill.

Let us examine some implications of this continuing urban recruitment. Habits of mind and disposition of character engendered in rustic occupations long persist in individuals even when they migrate to town and there practise the urban counterparts or variants of such rustic occupations. And though there be no organic inheritance of such traits in the second generation of urban

dwellers, yet social and family traditions tend to fix such traits; and this tendency will be reinforced by the maintenance of intercourse between the rural and urban families of similar trades, with its intermarriages and interchange of careers accordingly.¹ And below all these social fixations of specific rustic dispositions in particular urban trades, there goes on a steady and continuous process of reversion towards rural type. The successful tradesman buys a country house for the pleasure and status of his family and his own tranquillity in old age. His sons grow up devoted to the country pursuits of the rural gentry. Their real education is too often only at the hands of gamekeeper and

¹ Certain temperaments gravitate to certain occupations. There is considerable evidence of the inheritance of deep temperamental differences often associated with racial difference. From each occupation there has been a persistent sifting out of the incongruous rebellious temperaments (*e. g.* running off to sea, to London, to North-west Canada). Thus, while tradition counts for much, there is probably genuine natural inheritance fixing occupational traits. These ideas will be discussed in more detail in subsequent books of this series, and notably in *Human Geography in Western Europe*, by Professor Fleure.

groom : so that they revert to the hunting type. And the family's transference to that social formation is hastened by the marriage of the daughters into the rural aristocracy, with the adoption of naval and military careers by the sons and grandsons.

So far, then, the town is but a country village enlarged and stored with honey from upland hives. But the town is not only a permanent Market, it is also a permanent Fair, as we may verify, if by good chance our itinerary takes us through a town in which one of the old-fashioned Fairs has survived and happens on our arrival to be in full swing. If we could time a visit for the beginning of September we might participate in the Autumn Fair at Oxford. We will disregard the buying and selling of material goods, much in evidence though this be. It is something beyond the economic, that characterizes the spirit of the Fair. What distinguishes the Fair from the weekly or monthly market is, first of all, that it is an annual or biannual event coinciding with some great Church Festival, or perhaps with the day of the Patron Saint of the parish (as at Oxford on St. Giles's Day). It is,

therefore, essentially an occasion for relaxation and even revels—a time when the needs of the inner life are given full play and the liberated spirit seeks its Elysium. Priest and bishop, monk and friar, with all their resource of art and knowledge, all their skill in ritual and drama, could not, even in the heyday of the Church, completely satisfy the claims of the inner life. So the immemorial customs of the Fair persisted and flourished. That the same word, in at least one great European language, stands for both Fair and Mass, is for the student of LePlay an item of significance.

Let us, therefore, mingle with the motley crowd of townsfolk and rustics from far and near, as they surge round the booths of the mimes and the musicians, the dancing rings and the boxing matches, the vendors of curiosities and charms, the fortune-tellers and interpreters of dreams, the lightning artist, the stargazer with his telescope, the herbalist with his simples, the itinerant preacher, the mob orator, and so on in inexhaustible variety.

When next day we have slept off the fatigues of the Fair, questions as to its meaning

arise, and perhaps clues to its interpretation reveal themselves. Can any connection, for instance, be established between St. Giles's Fair and the University of Oxford? Outside the books of scholars who put together and recount what they have read about the genesis of universities in written documents, there are legendary origins. According to one of these, there are Mediterranean universities which arose from the mediæval custom of disputation among the groups of the learned and the curious who gathered round merchant vendors of Greek and Arabic Manuscripts at the Annual Fair. Whether the mediæval vendors of those literary treasures ever visited the Autumn Fair at Oxford, academic historians do not say. Indeed they have become strangely silent as to the remoter origins of the university, since the German fashion of writing history exclusively from documentary evidence came in. With the adoption of that fashion, it has become customary to assume that folk-lore is either lingering superstition or debased remnants of learned culture. But there is another way of comparing the spiritual traffickers of the Fair with the

priests and professors, the savants and artists of the schools. They all of them profess to do one or both of two things. To enhance life or to interpret it is what we desire for ourselves. And in that quest we seek the aid of practitioners who are experts in enhancement, and of professors who are specialists in interpretation. In the former professional class may be bracketed, without disrespect to either, the priest of established religion and the vendor of charms; in the latter, the professor of philosophy and the fortune-teller. From the standpoint of function and not status, all four professional types are co-ordinate and to be respected, if, and so long as, they *do* enhance life and interpret it, each for his particular clients.

Of all the many distinctions between the practitioners and specialists of the Fair and those of the Schools, we single out one as vital. The former represent a tradition of "occult" science, which is not only of vastly greater antiquity than that of the schools, but contrasts with it in a notable way. It claims to be comprehensive, synthetic and symbolic; while the science of the schools

has, since the Germanic vogue became established in our universities, increasingly prided itself on being the opposite—*i.e.* specialized, analytic and detached. Knowledge may be called symbolic when it is resumed in formulæ or symbols which have a value at once for interpreting and enhancing life. And since whatever enhances life has religious and æsthetic value, it follows that symbolic knowledge touches directly and simultaneously science, art and religion. Knowledge which, like that of the specialists, disclaims this triple intention may be called detached.

The science, the art and the religion of the schools, and consequently of the leisure and official classes, have under the specializing spirit tended to drift apart and become separate things. That tendency has, to be sure, its own advantages, as notably in quantitative increase of positive knowledge, and its elaboration of technique. It is hazardous to suggest that the cultivators of official science and religion have anything to learn in actual detailed knowledge from the occult sciences and arts. But there is something they might learn from the spirit of the latter.

For these have maintained that union of life and knowledge and labour, which is the first axiom of the rustic world and of the common people everywhere. From this unified source of their economic being, as of their spiritual renewal, the citizens of each passing generation tend to drift away, in proportion as they become isolated by sub-division and specialization of functions, from that regional life whose crown the city should be. What better illustration of this drift than books, both popular and scholarly, on *Oxford and its Colleges*, in which St. Giles's Fair, past or present, is not even mentioned!

In the art of repairing and renewing cities (which is the true and original art of politics) there is a lesson to be learned from the Fair. There are in the Fair deeps of humanity as well as shallows of vanity. The lesson is, that a city's spiritual organs need constant renewal of contacts with rustic life and labour. Without that continuous revitalizing, the spiritual organs of a city wither and formalize, or ferment to active degeneracy. In the former case, the city sinks to the level of a mere town; in the latter it flames into posi-

tive evils against which the prophet declaims and the reformer contends. To this city of evils there comes from time to time the Good Shepherd to seek and to save that which was lost. And from it flees Christian, the Pilgrim, in search for the Celestial City of his dreams.

The town—however vast its storage, extensive its reshaping of rustic products by manufactures, however elaborate its communications, magnificent its exchanges and banks, limitless though be its income of tribute—is still but a permanent Market. It is in the grip of circumstance, and passive to tradition. A town becomes a true city in the measure that it develops new and higher powers to enrich and enhance the inner life of its citizens, to combine their diverse interests into an ethical polity, and to evoke those high gifts of personality which master circumstance, transcend tradition, and rise on the wings of the spirit into the realm of creative culture. That is what many historic cities have, in their different ways, done for their citizens, and so became real centres of spiritual life for their time and region, and even to this day for us.

How this spiritual process worked through the cathedral in the mediæval city we have briefly indicated.¹ But let us not forget in the mediæval city, the Town Hall with its Belfry, the Guild Houses, the Colleges, the Abbey, and the Castle. In spite of bickerings, rivalries and disputes often acute, all these did at their best work together towards the beautification and ennobling of civic life. It was that working together which made mediæval civilization; it was in the end their severance, discord and resulting sterility that unmade it. The representative institutions of the mediæval city were the Cathedral of the Seculars, the Abbey of the Regulars, the Townhall of the People and the Castle of the Chiefs. In so far as these four institutions were in unison there resulted a natural balance of spiritual and temporal powers. The upsetting of that balance in favour of the temporal power not only destroyed mediæval civilization, but inaugurated the modern movement which has its climax in the Absolute State.

By similar analysis of civic life in other

¹ For a fuller analysis see Branford, *Interpretations and Forecasts*, Chapter VI.

historic periods, the history of civilization could be written in its own proper terms, *i.e.* of cities. A new concreteness and clearness would thus be given to Comte's conception of history as interplay of temporal and spiritual powers. Behind the spectacular movements of Chiefs and People, of Emotionals and Intellectuals, which make the temporo-spiritual drama, we should see the more concrete and definite civic drama. And again behind the rise and fall of cities, their maintenance, decay and renewal, we discern since the impulse of LePlay, the regional drama. In the sweep and orbit of this dramatic cycle there are, as we have seen, two foci. Around one works the constructive instinct of the peasant; around the other, the destructive instinct of the hunter in his unconverted and elemental state. From being, as rustic, relatively passive to nature, the peasant as city-builder turns upon his environment as plastic to his purpose and shapes it to his heart's desire. In contrast to this constructive process of civilization is the predatory activity of the hunter-warrior, for whom the stored wealth

of cities is object of loot, or source of tribute. For historians of race and dynasty, of state and empire, it is the hunter-warrior who has seemed the prominent maker of history. Again, therefore, does this clue of LePlay's lead us towards a conclusion remote from the thought of academies, but close to the heart of tradition. It is this—that the peasant and the hunter are the essential thinkers and makers of rival systems of history, and therefore of politics, as previously we saw shepherd and hunter to be the ultimate terms in rival doctrines of life and ideals, and therefore of religions.

What is the practical conclusion to be deduced from our historic generalization? What is its political value? In other words, what its bearing on that reconstruction of politics to which we are seeking the clues? Our examination of the rural problem in a previous chapter disclosed as its vital issue the moral conversion of the Hunter by the Shepherd. Similarly it would seem that the central element of urban life is of analogous order. In brief, how can the Peasant, himself turned citizen, civilize—i.e. *civicize*—the

Hunter, upon whom the Shepherd has already done a preparatory work of moral purification? If it be objected that this is not a practical but a visionary conclusion, we answer by reference to the language of the great religions and their record in the moralization of communities. Let the practical man take this language and record literally instead of figuratively and he will come to see that there is a more intimate relation between vision and performance than he imagines. And as to the future, what has been done may be done again. What has failed may be tried again and with possibility of better results.

CHAPTER VIII

STATE AND CITY

CONSIDER the contrast implied in the words civil and military, with all that it connotes in the history of political liberty. Consider also its full charge of meaning in the hazards and crises of contemporary life. In the one word is resumed the history of a city-state, and its constructive contribution to human development. In the other is resumed the legacy of an empire which lived on the tribute of cities. True that empire was but a phase in the life cycle of the very same city-state. It is the secret of that transition we are seeking.

Nowadays the word "civil" has suffered attenuation and become but the ghost of its original self. For the loss of its concrete and vital element we have doubtless to thank the abstract mind of the modern lawyer. Without its civic implication the word became devitalized and served no longer as a

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bulwark against its rival, but as a temptation to hostile attack. The progress of decay left the phrase and the idea of civil law, with its corollary of civic life, spiritless; and this just when strength was needed to withstand the successive waves of militarism, that arose with increasing intensity as Liberalism declined, during the later nineteenth century. The process has been similar in principle in each country of western Europe, but most emphatic and threatening in that where the imperial and militarist heritage of Rome took firmest root through deliberate cultivation in our own days, as it declined in the nation which was its more natural heir. From the symptomatic episode of Zabern might fittingly be derived a specific title for the fever of militarism. It would enrich the vocabulary of social science and commemorate the event, if we agreed to designate this wasting disease of the body politic, as *Zabernitis*.

A similar decay is seen in the substitution of the abstract and colourless word "civilization," for the more concrete and human word "civility." How recent is the substitution,

readers of Boswell may recall, for Johnson would not admit "civilization" as a legitimate word and insisted on the use of "civility." The latter, with implied contrast of rusticity, is manifestly nearer in reference and intention to the springs of civic life than is its more abstract rival. These illustrations are samples of a tendency in modern times to dissociate the civilizing process from cities and city life. It is clearly no mere coincidence that this tendency should have grown concurrently with the increasing subordination of cities to centralized state governments. True the bureaucracy of the State denominates itself as an administration of Civil Service. And this the citizen, in the innocence of his heart, assumes to be a ministering of civic service, with progress of cities accordingly.

The modern State has taken over and absorbed into itself as much as it could grasp of the heritage that properly belongs to its constituent cities. The uncomplaining docility of these in submitting to the loss of their birthright is a social phenomenon that merits a fuller investigation than it has received. It is explicable neither by the region-

alism of LePlay, the humanism of Comte, nor yet by both together. But wandering to and fro between metropolitan capitals and their provincial cities, with the formulæ of Comte and LePlay in mind, and not forgetting those of Darwin, one gathers certain clues as to the causes, the consequences and the method of the spoliation, and the submissiveness of its victims.

To prevent misunderstanding, it should be made clear that we distinguish sharply between the Nation and the State. A people conceive themselves a nation when united by common memories, and by aspirations extending even beyond regional boundaries. In a very real sense there is a national spirit. It receives embodiment—say, rather ensoulment—in characteristic arts and institutions. Language is commonly but not invariably its chief vehicle. In Switzerland and in Belgium the national spirit lives in a memory and an aspiration of freedom that finds expression in ways seemingly independent of language. In Germany the form is essentially musical, as well as linguistic, and in Italy civic and artistic in their fullest and technical senses.

In Scotland the national spirit had its characteristic expression, as frequently elsewhere, in folk ballad. For France it has found supreme expression in that instrument of lucidity—French prose; for England in the succession of poets from Chaucer and Shakespeare to Shelley, Tennyson and Browning, and their living successors. If now we ask who stands in the popular imagination for the State, as do the poet, musician, artist, writer for the nation, the answer is not less manifest. It is the soldier, the policeman, the M.P., the tax-gatherer, and now in our fully centralized states above and beyond all these a mysterious functionary commonly known—or unknown—as the bureaucrat. The conclusion obviously follows: that the realities for which the terms “Nation” and “State” stand, belong to contrasted categories as respectively spiritual and temporal powers.¹

In our proposed inquiry into the concept of

¹ The contrast between the Nation as cultural, and the State as political, legal and military, has been well worked out by A. E. Zimmern, *Sociological Review*, January 1916.

"the State," a further proviso is also necessary. The customary procedure of speculative politics we reverse; instead of beginning with a definition of the State, we end, if not with a definition, at least with a definitive concept which we submit for consideration to those interested in the reconstruction of politics. For an initial light on the problem of the State we search by inquiring into the nature of the city, the relation of cities to one another, and to their respective regions.

Whatever else the city may be and do, there can be no question that it serves one specialized function, which no other instrument of man or nature performs with the same directness, fullness and perfection of adaptation. May not the city be the long-sought, missing link between animal and human evolution? Biologists puzzle over the relationship of the individual to the species in respect to the inheritance of acquired characters. But suppose that civic life and city development represent the supreme striving of nature to balance the freedom of the individual and the continuity of the species! The central and significant fact is that the city

does function as the specialized organ of social transmission. It is the vehicle of acquired inheritance. It accumulates and embodies the culture heritage of a region, and combines it in some measure and kind with the culture heritage of larger units, national, racial, religious, human. It stamps the resultant product upon each passing generation of its citizens. The stamp has an obverse and a reverse. One side is the individuality of the city—the sign manual of its regional life and record. On the other are the marks of the civilization, in which each particular city is a constituent element. Like a phonographic plate, the city receives the experiences of each passing generation and hands the record on to the next. It is the instrument primarily of the regional memory, but serves also as the memory of larger groups, with a faithfulness proportional to the vividness of the corresponding experience. But the civic rôle is far from passive. It is also (and essentially) active, creative, evocatory. By some subtle alchemy, the spirit of the city selects and blends memories of the past with experiences of the present and hopes for the future. The

complex product expresses, or rather constitutes and is, that individuality of the city which it impresses on each oncoming generation of its citizens. These in turn react on civic life in ways that vary from the passivity of a Dombey to the militancy of a Dickens. Is not opulence of personality in each citizen determined by the fullness with which he inherits the past from his city and contributes to its future his own experience of the present and his ideals for the future? By such interaction between civic and individual life, the city in its more abiding persistence and continuity serves the purpose of selective retrospect for the people of its region, at times also, as in cathedral-building days (and why not again?), of creative prospect. It is thus, par excellence, the organ of human evolution and also, alas, of degeneration. Regarded from the standpoint of a naturalistic humanism, does it not seem that the city, in its being and becoming, is, as it were, the very incarnation of the evolutionary process? Is it not the spirit of evolution come to self-consciousness and fraught with the destiny of its own regional life?

The regional life concentrates in the city and functions through its activity. Regional *élan vital* fruits in civic life. The city and its region compose into the true social unit. This vital truth, the practical wisdom of the Roman Catholic Church recognized and applied in its episcopal organization by dioceses. It treated cities and citizens as what they essentially are, psychic entities, yet it did not forget that bread and wine are produced from land by labour. A secular version of the same elemental truth is the saying that Boston is not a place but a state of mind.

Let us, then, assume that the progressive struggle and co-operation of living beings, which we call evolution, has its culminating manifestation in the life of cities. The striving of cities to extend their power and influence beyond their natural region is thus interpretable in two senses. In the first place as a particular case of the general struggle for survival. In the second, as a reaching and groping towards those higher forms of collective life which are evolved mainly through co-operation and mutual aid. In so far as the

competition of cities is a natural struggle for survival, we should expect to find developed a whole armoury of those instinctive devices for the defeat of rivals, which the natural selectionists have taught us to look for. To take one or two instances which on the face of them seem to invite this explanation. A railway system is organized, which perhaps makes it less expeditious to travel from one "provincial" city to another, by the chord of a circle, than along the two radii that connect them via the capital. Again, there is the metropolitan custom of cashing at a discount cheques drawn on provincial banks. This is tantamount to establishing in favour of the capital a permanent difference in exchange against all provincial cities, in the real and effective currency of the realm which of course consists of cheques, as against the official and nominal currency of coin and bank notes.

But if in the scheme of nature it is the essential function of cities to transmit the culture heritage of mankind, then it is towards assault on this spiritual quality that the competitive strife would mainly turn. Is it

not an illustration in point, that from the dawn of history till the burning of Louvain, the conqueror's road to exploitation of foreign countries has lain through the destruction of their culture cities? It has been put forward in extenuation of the burning of Louvain and its University Library that only an eighth of the city was destroyed, as though the value of the British Museum were assessed by accounting it not a thousandth part of London! A more finished procedure than the burning of libraries is the endeavour to incorporate the culture heritage of the conquered into that of the conquering city. When Nebuchadnezzar carried off the Jews from Jerusalem to Babylon, it was not merely to make slaves of them, but also for culture purposes, as the subsequent return with full complement of historic tradition would seem to show. It was the commonest of devices in the competition of cities during the Italian Renaissance, for the victorious prince to treat the artists and sculptors of a defeated city, as the richest part of his spoil. A more devious instance is the trick of exploiting a characteristic tradition of one city to

the profit of another. There may be cited, in illustration of this, the carefully organized exploitation by Berlin in 1913 of the Battle of Leipzig in 1813 by means of its centenary celebration. In the official French publication on the origin of the war may be seen letters from the French Ambassador in Germany to his own Government, giving warning of the perils likely to result from the heated enthusiasm worked up by Berlin in memory of 1813. "Leipzig" proved indeed to be a "state of mind"—a great state of mind, appropriately precedent to the subsequent explosion in July 1914.

But assume that in the intercivic struggle, the main factor of survival is the city's efficiency in integrating present experiences with past knowledge, and using the product for the shaping of the future. If this be so, then it becomes of more than theoretical importance for each city to inquire as to the adequacy of its means for the performance of such mental and moral services. In common phrase (though insufficiently realized) the problem is that of Higher Education. Taking the phrase in its largest sense, what is the

essential civic organ of higher education? Is it not a University, but this as no pale reflex of some fancied perfection of a "national" archetype, but a living and militant institution, that serves its city and region in the quite definite way required? It must be a university that embodies the regional life and tradition, incorporates into this life and tradition the vital experience of all its most actively creative sons and daughters of the passing generation, and offers to each individual of the oncoming generation, without distinction of sex or class, the resultant wisdom? In proportion as it does these services for its city and region, a university aids their survival, or by its failure handicaps them in the struggle with other cities and regions, domestic and foreign. Without such an organ of spiritual energizing, or with one of mingled archaic and degenerate pattern and correspondingly diminished survival value, the biggest of towns is no city. It is but a town, a mere combination of mart and vanity fair, enjoying, it may be, an evanescent prosperity by drawing to itself the people of its countryside for business of dull uniform-

ity, broken by Bank Holiday spells of orgiastic revelry. To reduce to such degradation a city of ancient culture, or to maintain at that low level of social life a modern hive of industry, is a sure way to turn the spiritual outlook of the unfortunate citizens elsewhere, and to the profit of some other city, thus invited to become a more and more centralizing one.

Consider the reaction of the modern centralized State towards the question of civic or regional universities. In England not one institution of that type appeared before the middle of the nineteenth century. In France, Napoleon I completed the centralizing work of Louis XIV by creating a great "national" institution, the University of France, which meant in practice the (deteriorated) University of Paris. It is only in our own day that the regional movement in France has checked, indeed to some extent arrested, this current of academic centralization. In Germany the process of administrative centralization from Berlin ran concurrently with an increasingly systematic subordination of the old regional universities to the new Berlin university,

specially created to be the spiritual organ of the Prussian monarchy; and where, as in the case of Goettingen, the customary means of draining away the best blood to Berlin failed, other devices were tried, such as gossiping disparagement of the local degrees.

It may be objected that England should be excluded from the foregoing generalization, if only on the ground that the capital city had, until the nineteenth century, no university of its own. That, to be sure, is true, but only in a formal and narrow sense. Viewed in a larger way, Oxford and London are twin cities with respective functions, which long ago reached a certain perfection of adjustment. In the mutual division of labour, one city specialized on temporal power and the other developed a congruent spiritual power. The pride of Oxford is its school of *Litteræ Humaniores*. By combining literature and philosophy, history and politics, it opened a range of culture from which nothing was excluded except science. And that upstart in the world of learning, being, as the classicists agree, of little cultural worth, and

of value mainly for its industrial applications, could appropriately be left to the schools of commercial and manufacturing cities.

Thus by nice adjustment did, and does, this renowned curriculum of *Litteræ Humaniores* educate for the art of Government. To take an illustration which shows its mode of working. A relatively complete theory of government is to be found in Aristotle's *Politics*. As it stands in the original, it is in truth a theory not of state administration but of civic life. Suppose, however, that we decide to take the centralized state to be our modern equivalent of the ancient Hellenic city, then, defying mere literary accuracy, we shall render the Greek word for "city" by "State," and go on to use it, without qualification, in lecture-room, in textual translations, in commentaries and in political discussion.

By these assumptions and due dialectical substantiation of them, and by teaching them as valid truths to youths preparing to be masters in public schools and grammar schools throughout the country, or to be leader-writers to the provincial and the metropolitan Press, perhaps, above all by thus training

the novitiate of the modern preaching Friars, the numerous and mighty order of Barristers, Oxford did spiritual service for London. Through its own modernized organs of spiritual power—its schools and its press—each provincial city thus received authoritative inculcation of the lowliness of civic life and government—as of mere “gas and sewage”; and these in little Pedlington—and the loftiness of national life and state government, the latter being no affair of cities, but of that higher entity, the State, which in practice meant London. In final result the industrial cities were left, for all save the simplest mechanical purposes, as innocent of science as Oxford itself. And trained as they were, at first or second hand, in the culture of humane letters, it was natural that neither provincial editors nor Members of Parliament should think of demanding the introduction of science into the schools of industrial cities, till amateur smatterings had already entered and tainted the very name of science. As for the notion of a civic or regional university, it would have seemed a contradiction in terms to the mind cultivated in that London—

Oxford tradition, which from the decay of mediæval faith till the nineteenth century was the most active and in its way most effective spiritual power in England.

Thus the Industrial Revolution came upon the cities like a thief in the night, who, prompted by the sound instinct of his craft, tackles the unwary householder in the early hours of morn, when, awake or asleep, he is at the diurnal ebb of the physiological tide. Not only were the authorities unprepared for the implied moral and economic changes. The contemporary spiritual regime was such as to preclude any adequate understanding of the tendencies of the situation, still less of handling them in the service of the cities and their regions. Unheralded and unguided, the rustics poured themselves and their passive spirit into towns, which accordingly bent to the hammer blows of circumstance. First came the Factory Age which moulded the towns into monotonous dreariness of mean streets; and next the Railway Age which distorted them into shapeless repulsive forms, disfiguring the country-side by luxuriant growth of monstrous tentacles.

In the particular region wherein our flying survey has been so cursorily and incidentally made, the towns of Reading and Swindon may be noted as minor illustrations which emphasize respectively the former and the latter process of urban growth. But Swindon's loss and Reading's shame were, in a measure, London's gain. For if the disoriented citizen is shorn of opportunities for "life more abundant" at home, is he not the more inclined to seek it in the alluring splendours of the capital? Or alternatively, for want of spiritual organs that combine moral evocation with intellectual attainment, as a university at its best can and should do, the decivilized town fills the void by developing debased substitutes, which supply a bastard stimulus to the eager spirit of youth upon its city streets.¹

To sum up the interpretative observations of our rapid march down the Thames Valley from the Cotswolds to Reading. In Chipping Campden with LePlay, we saw the peasant turning citizen. In buildings both public

¹ For a remarkable study of this degenerate side of city life see Jane Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (Macmillan, 1910).

and private he worthily enshrined craft lore and regional tradition. These memories and the corresponding aspirations he compounded with no inconsiderable element of the general civilization of his day. That is the impression as you observe the plan of the town and enjoy the beauty and dignity of private houses and public edifices. Coming to Oxford, we saw the completion and perfection of what was begun by the upland builders. A jewel finely wrought on the garment of nature, Oxford is the very embodiment of the civic spirit in æsthetic and retrospective mood. Memories regional and national, caught and preserved age by age, and blended each with the characteristic phase of its contemporary civilization, compose into a unity which make the city a pageant of history. Pausing there with Comte, we realize perhaps more vividly than elsewhere is possible in England, what it is that differentiates civilized man from his rude progenitors. It is the culture heritage and the potency of its spiritual influence.

In contrast to Oxford, which makes its own environment, the railway town of Swindon is recalled as a complete expression of

material determination. It faithfully reflects that phase of the Industrial Revolution which brought it into being, accepting alike the defects and the qualities impressed upon it, as though a city were a lump of plasticine. Finally we took a passing glimpse at Reading, also largely determined by the characteristics of the machine age, but inheriting a tradition of culture and struggling nowadays to renew and develop it, by adventuring once more towards some mastery of its fate.

Passing Reading, a long day's forced march brings us to the end of our journey, and we reach at length the great city itself.¹ Reversing the customary order of travel, as by railway, which starts from the capital, we approach it in a mood not necessarily critical, yet naturalistic rather than devotional, and so we are less prepossessed by that mystic awe, that pervasive legend, which surrounds every great metropolis as does a halo the saint.

The prevalent legend of the metropolis tends to present each imperial capital as

¹ In a forthcoming volume of the series, *Westminster, Temporal and Spiritual*, we shall treat also of London.

unique, as profoundly differentiated from all other urban growths, and standing apart from "the Provinces" (no longer of much other significance beyond their own boundaries, and represented essentially for taxation purposes) and far above "the country" (mainly considered as a source of milk supply, or at best of varied holiday). Its ascendancy is expounded by economist and statistician; it is maintained above all by State Politics and Government; by Administration and by Finance. It is expressed by Society and by the Press; and its resulting supereminence is accordingly accepted for better or worse throughout nation and empire.

Approaching the metropolis from the regional standpoint (which as we have seen is not only rural but civic also, and therefore historical), we are prepared to understand and appreciate the legend of the imperial capital, the manner of its growth and the vogue of its being, without letting it overpower us. Whatever we have seen of good and evil, of mastery and acceptance, of tradition and initiative in the villages, the towns and the cities of the Thames region, we find repeated,

multiplied, compounded and recrystallized in London. In the most thoroughgoing and representative way it is the regional capital. But similarly it is a truly national capital. We might have approached it along the main arteries of connexion with other regional capitals, ancient and modern, as Norwich and Lincoln, Nottingham and Derby, Shrewsbury and Worcester, Birmingham and Northampton, Salisbury and Winchester (once its rival for the seat of King and Parliament). We might thus have seen how London has absorbed something vital and essential from all these cities and their regions, and so has become the genuinely representative city of the great plain of England, the true heart, if not the brain or the hand, of the empire. Starting further afield, we might have approached through the three well-marked natural avenues from north and west which geographers call respectively the Vale of York, the Midland Gap and the Bristol Gate. In this way we might have seen how deep and far spread in the life and tradition of the metropolis are influences from Scotland and the north, from Ireland, Wales and the west; and observing

this past and present inflow from the confines of England and the British Isles, we could not but admit how truly London is a national as well as a regional capital.

Or, again, approaching London from the channel and the sea, we should not fail to observe that the Thames estuary is part of an inland sea into which other great rivers, like the Scheldt and the Seine, also empty, and how consequently the cities of all three river basins have been driven to struggle for mastery of the maritime outlet and dominion of the oceans and of the world beyond. The mind would be carried back to the centuries of fierce rivalry between London and Paris, now happily terminated by adjustments which leave both cities with ample claim to be Imperial Capitals. But when all is said as to the manifoldness of their representative character and of the services they have rendered and continue to render, the imperial capitals have still an accounting to make to their respective regions.¹ To the auditing of

¹ For a continuation of this theme, see Chapter XI ("War Capitals"), in the companion volume *Ideas at War*.

that account the formulæ of LePlay are admirably adapted and may be reinforced by the use of Comte's. Those of Darwin have also a bearing, as we have endeavoured to show. We have indeed outlined a more naturalistic interpretation of the "state" idea, than those commonly discussed. But in making that suggestion, we would not have it thought we are advancing a comprehensive explanation of the origin and function of the State. To suppose that "the State" is nothing but a fictitious masquerade of metropolitan capitals in rivalry with provincial cities would be a palpable exaggeration. Our naturalistic interpretation is that of a main selective factor but in a problem surpassingly complex.

We did indeed suggest at the opening of this chapter that as the nation has an existence in the spiritual order, so the state has a corresponding temporal materiality. But nations vary from the loose cohesion of scattered Jewry to the compact unity of the Dutch; and similarly for States, they range in substance and kind from the civic simplicity of Andorra to the immeasurable heterogeneity

of the British Empire. And there has been under the Anglo-Germanic tradition of "political philosophy" and, especially as developed at Oxford, a tendency for investigators and thinkers to conceal these divergences of reality by the abstractions of metaphysical speculation; a tendency, in short, to hypostatize the State, and virtually deify it, to ignore and forget the city, and so spiritually to nullify and materially degrade it. Those who may be unaware of the extent to which the accepted philosophy of "the State" is interwoven with dialectical fiction may be referred to a recent discussion at the Aristotelian Society (1916). The contention of Mr. Delisle Burns that the current political theory is "fantastic" in its ignoring of realities was endorsed by some and seriously challenged by none of the assembled philosophers. To re-express the manifold problems, theoretical and practical, of statecraft, of nationalism, of empire, in the more concrete terms of civic and regional life and the federation of their respective communities, is, we submit, the primary need of a reconstituted political science.

CHAPTER IX

LEPLAY AND HIS METHOD

THE applied philosophy we have so far been pursuing may be called that of the combined outlook at once regional and historic. For the most part in open-air observation and travel we have been finding the examples of our interpretations by help of the LePlay-Comte method. Returning to the speculative confinement of the study, we propose now a critical discussion of method itself. True, there are many for whom all such abstract questions are devoid of interest, and to be shunned like contagion. Let us suggest, for their comfort, that this and the succeeding chapter may, without violent disturbance of continuity, be skipped; after the end of the book, these chapters may be returned to, or omitted altogether, if the reader be still so inclined !

Recently, under the awakening influence of war, a manifesto urging the national importance of science was issued by thirty-six representative scientific men. There was no ambiguity as to what they meant by science. They enumerated mechanics, physics, biology, geography and geology. There was no mention of anthropology, psychology or sociology; to say nothing of economics, ethics and æsthetics. How are we to explain this deliberate—almost ostentatious—exclusion of the humanist sciences from this sacred circle? It is doubtless in part an instinctive hostility of the old to the new. These physicists and naturalists are the first comers in this new world of science who would keep the later arriving humanists from acquiring a citizenship in a realm where they already show signs of large and ambitious claims. But it is more than this. There is behind the ostracism a perception by the naturalists of profound falling short on the part of their humanist half-brothers. The latter have so far failed to develop what is one of the vital elements of scientific method.

The naturalist sciences have each of them

their own unit of investigation. The unit is a device contrived by the mind of man to bring order and clearness into the seeming chaos of facts presented by nature. Mechanics has its foot-pound of energy; physics its unit of ether; chemistry its atom and molecule; biology its concepts of organism and of "species"; geology its stratum and section; geography its concepts of North, South, East and West, with corresponding standards of latitude and longitude. These units are ideal creations, conceived as a reality of perfection towards which nature tends and strives. The unit of the scientific man is like the little angel which each mother sees in her babe, or the perfection the lover sees in his mistress. The vision is no optical illusion, but a discernment of the flowing and direction of the stream of reality.

Conspicuous on the great tree of science (indeed in a way eldest of all), the humanist branches have failed to develop adequately, as yet, in methodic progress. The exponents of anthropology, psychology and sociology, of economics, ethics and æsthetics, have rested content without any single group

agreeing even upon its own working unit of investigation.

Amongst the varied and competing units which have emerged in this field, there is one to which, in a former chapter, we called attention under the title of the (linked) valley-section, with its distinctive occupational types. Now this unit having grown up outside the pale of the fashionable Germanic tradition and within the unfashionable French tradition, and so outside British education and even literature altogether, has scarcely received even passing attention. Its capacity to illuminate representative problems in some of the humanist sciences we have already shown by illustration. But now we proceed to argue more explicitly that in conjunction with other formulæ developed within the same tradition, this concept of the linked valley-section constitutes an approximate and effective working unit for the whole circle of the humanist group of sciences.

Let us approach this problem of social method on its historical side. As Comte had his precursors mainly in Montesquieu and Condorcet in the renovation of historic inter-

pretation, so LePlay renovated and resumed the economic investigations of an older French tradition. His forerunners were the Physiocrats. These made the first scientific beginnings of economic observation and thought. They applied scientific method to an investigation of the practical questions of statecraft. Above all they sought an answer to the question which war always forces to the front—how to maximize the national output. In the strife for European dominion, Louis XIV and Louis XV wasted the substance of the people by wars well-nigh as devastating as that of their spiritual descendant, Kaiser Wilhelm II, although, having less knowledge of chemistry and mechanics at their disposal, they were slower and less skilful at the devil's game.

Thus their essential peasant milieu on the one hand, and the devastations of war on the other, were sufficient to direct the inquiries of the Physiocrats to the conditions of rural life, even if they had not been living in a monarchy of the pre-Industrial Age. The motto of Quesnai's famous treatise—
"Pauvre Paysans, pauvre Royaume, pauvre

Royaume, pauvre Roi"—expressed at once the historic era, the point of origin, and the practical conclusion of the physiocratic doctrine. From this early association of economics with physical and geographical conditions Adam Smith departed. And equally naturally—as a British observer standing in the very midst of the Industrial Revolution—he switched the discussion on to forms and processes of trade and manufacture. His continuators and successors, with their paucity of factual observations and their prodigality of premature generalization, gradually, by successive refinements of logic, evolved high abstractions, and these into a veritable new Pantheon of world-directive Deities, now "Supply" and "Demand," or again "Capital" and "Labour." These in turn volatilized into mystical entities for German dialecticians. By the repercussion of these, at least two generations of English and American economists, trained at first or second hand in Teutonic method during its prolonged academic vogue, have bowed the knee obediently to this or that dialectical Baal.

In France this abstract and urban "Political

Economy " had, of course, its exponents and its followers, but it has never taken enduring root. On the contrary, the more traditional type of concrete and rustic economics flowed on below the surface. The emergence of Le Play was evidence of this. True to the impulse of his Physiocratic precursors, and to the instinct of his peasant milieu, he renewed the search for a factual basis of economic observation. He also sought fresh inspiration for economic doctrine in his life of perpetual travel and inspection of industries and homes. Thus he established vivifying contacts with the nascent sciences of geography and anthropology.

LePlay was then no mere "social economist," as it has been the fashion to regard him in England and America. He was a philosopher resolved to penetrate to the very roots of social life. He was also impelled, like the Physiocrats, by practical motives. A student on a sick bed in Paris during the Revolution of 1830, he listened with pain and shock to the firing of the soldiers and the resulting cries of the terrified people and their wounded. He straightway vowed devo-

tion to the life task of discovering the social and economic factors that lie behind political ills. His quest was for the principles of a reconstituted politics. Never did saint of old more faithfully carry out his vow. Having first fully grasped the idea that the unit of social life, and therefore also of social investigation, is the working class family, he centred his busy lifetime of travel and research upon the comparative study of working-class families in most of the countries of Europe. From these *Monographies des Ouvriers Européens* came the Family Budgets which Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. Seebohm Rowntree have popularized among us, though well-nigh a couple of generations after his day.

LePlay carried his investigations even into Asia. It was, indeed, on the Asiatic steppe amid the simple, primitive life of pastoral nomads, that his far-pressed research was rewarded by the clue that gave meaning and order to the mass of factual observations he had accumulated in modern lands of more complex social formation. His famous formula, *Lieu, Travail, Famille—Place, Work, Family*—was the generalization of the sequence

he realized upon the Asiatic steppe—Grass, Sheep, Shepherds—and these with their community families and their corresponding patriarchal ways of life.

The word "Folk" is a convenient term, to cover at once the family, the group of families, and the pervasive spirit of social life that moulds them into a community. We therefore substitute the word "Folk" for "Family" in the LePlay formula and prefer to speak of

Place → Work → Folk.

Now there are several things to be noted about the formula of LePlay. The first is that it inserts a middle term—Work—between environment on the one side and social life and institutions on the other. By this advance was filled the fatal gap left open by the investigators and exponents of the determinist school, from Montesquieu to Buckle and onwards. Is it claimed that this deficiency was made good for that school by Karl Marx, with his economic interpretation of history? That might have been so if Marx had started not as a Hegelian, but as a geographer and naturalist, as himself a pro-

ductive worker and organizer like LePlay, not as a thinker in the study, a reader in the British Museum. But the dialectical impulse drove him into abstractions in which both "environment" and "work" became so rarified of geographic and technic content as to be practically useless for concrete investigation. For there is one invariable test in all such matters: Can the data and the results be graphically set down, concretely mapped? It was the working out of his investigations on the map of London that have made Charles Booth's volumes of indisputable and permanent scientific worth. It was the working out of his researches on the map of Europe that set the seal of a scientific classic upon the monographs and treatises of LePlay.

But let us be clear as to what it is that is mapped. The observer maps the facts of these sequences—Grass—Sheep—Shepherd; Forest—Game—Hunter; Arable—Corn—Peasant; and so on for each of the occupational types. Several results follow from this rigorous insistence on mapping. One is that the observer is pinned down to a particular type of hunter, a particular type of shepherd,

and so on. He is saved from the besetting temptation of general talk, and yet he comes in time to have generalizations as well as particulars about hunters or shepherds. The requirements of that concrete monographic study which is the first essential of scientific method are thus fulfilled. Another resultant of survey method, the mapping practice, is, that in thus setting down his facts along with his classifications and comparative studies, the observer is compelled to make sure that his classifications are of like with like, and that his comparisons are in keeping with one another. His generalizations are thus open to each new observer's criticism and verification, and this is the second requisite of scientific method.

In these ways the observer gradually builds up in his mind not only the picture of nature with the geographer, but with the humanist also, as a theatre in which man plays his part. There is an orderly progress; and from fact to image, and from image to symbol, there is, or should be, no break; and similarly for the return from symbol to fact. Thus the social sciences begin to form their first

commencements of "conceptual shorthand," and from this they may go on to represent and co-ordinate for man's thought and benefit, not only the world without but even the world within.

But neither the world without nor the world within is fixed and definable in the old ways of logicians and classifiers. They are, both of them, dynamic and changeful, in perpetual transformation from present appearances towards something different. To seize and represent the mood, the spirit, the tendency of this twofold Proteus, objective and subjective by turns, is the central aim of social science, as of art. The units of the physical and natural sciences have this dynamic quality and also the graphic presentment. The lack of such visualizing symbolism, at once idealistic and realistic, has been, as we have already said, the standing weakness of the humanist sciences. Not only have these been content to muddle along with metaphysical substitutes, made in Germany, but there has never been any general concurrence upon any one amongst the rival entities. If anywhere are to be found clear and practical

beginnings of a better unitary system, the student of method is therefore invited to turn to this French tradition in quest of it.

For those who are not students of method, it may help towards an understanding of the problem, to consider the chess-board; and what, to the player, it stands for. With the pieces all in their initial places, the chess-board is to the player no inert piece of matter, but a symbol which expresses the essentials of every problem. It contains hidden within itself all that infinitude of moves which makes the fascination of the game. Reflect how this symbolism comes to life and works when the game is on. It provides the player with the means of doing three things; and, moreover, of doing them with perfection of performance proportional to his capacity for using the symbolism. For the player as his skill advances becomes increasingly enabled to remember what has happened since the opening of the game, to visualize its present situation, and, within limits, to anticipate future moves, and balance the advantages and drawbacks of each.

Now, returning to the matter in hand, recall

the diagram of the linked valley-section, given on page 84. Picture the appearance of the valley as seen, for example, from an aeroplane. On the broad hill-tops, bare rock or moss-grown surface alternating with scrub, heath and bracken, the whole affording scanty food and cover for game, of which the grand source is in the deciduous forest below, sheltering a rich variety of animal life; next is the belt of upland pasture with its wandering flocks; below this the agricultural belt ranging from the poor hill-side croft onwards through the rich farms of the plains, to the market gardens on the outskirts of the great city at the river mouth. Finally, at the estuary is the region of the seafaring folk.

Here are four characteristic areas, and the addition of the coniferous forest and mining belts on the western slope altogether make up, as it were, a six-square chequer board. On their respective squares stand the sextet of occupational types, each ready for its part in the interplay of the regional drama. The rules of the game are infinitely complex. But the outline of the plot may be followed and even understood, if certain major assumptions

be made. The first is that each occupational type upon its native square, has its character determined and consequently its rôle conditioned according to the formula: Place—Work—Folk. The next is, that mutations of character, and changes in habit of mind, are likewise capable of interpretation in terms of the same triad. Making these provisional assumptions we have a working scheme of study and notation which can be revised and amended, as we progress from observation through classification and hypothesis to generalization, and conversely.

Thus from the endeavour to devise a conceptual shorthand for field investigation there begins to grow up a logical apparatus. There is no such exact thing in nature as our diagrammatic valley, containing all the types and in their right place. But as an ideal unit it is valuable just in proportion as it enables one actual valley with its quantum of regional life to be compared with another, and conformity to the ideal standard or departure from it, observed and defined. Similarly for the occupational types and their assumed mode of life and manner of interplay.

These regional types are, it may be incidentally noted, a concrete version of the "economic man" that served the classical political economists for a unit of study.

Does the new formula justify itself by its yield of observations, comparisons, classifications and generalizations? This, of course, is a question which calls for answer by the workers who have used the methodic apparatus, and by critics (if any) who have assessed the harvest gathered. And its answer would soon lead us into a larger and more elaborate volume than this; though in the next chapter we shall have something to say under this head. What we are here concerned with is the fact that such a graphic association of descriptive and logical notations exists, and works; that it has been developed with help from this too neglected French tradition; and that it claims to bridge, at any rate, provisionally, since workably, the chasm which yawns conspicuous in the rival tradition, which has hitherto dominated all official schools of science: that is the separation of the environmental sciences of nature on the one hand, from the humanities on the other.

CHAPTER X

TOWARDS "THE GREAT RENEWAL"

WE have thus entered upon developments of the social method of Le Play and of his continuators of "*La Science Sociale*"; and we may go on to plead for its elaboration for other purposes than social investigation, and for its application in a wider field. First we will test the formula, as an instrument of scientific logic and philosophy in their unending work of order and clarification. That such a notation possesses power of introducing order, where at present little or none exists, a simple illustration will show. Consider the spectacle of confusion presented by the anthropologists, the economists and the sociologists of the current scientific (that is the Germanic) persuasion. They are all at sixes and sevens, as to the delimitation of their respective fields and manner of cultivating them. They evince no tendency to mutual adjustment even in face of the

social geographer, who is nowadays actively invading the territory of all three.

On the other hand note how each of these sciences falls naturally into its place in the common scheme of research envisaged in the present argument. Survey the facts, the record and the processes of human evolution from the standpoint of Place, and your research is Social Geography; similarly from the standpoint of Work, and of Folk; it is now respectively Economics and Anthropology. Sociology thus naturally appears as we co-ordinate these three specialized lines of research, from their conventional isolation into their normal triad of Life, as the study of Place, Work and Folk taken together.

But where in this scheme, it may be asked, is the sphere and function of the more subjective sciences, within the humanist group? Most cultivators of ethics, of psychology and of æsthetics, follow academic traditions and so are if possible even more confused as to method and correlation than are their colleagues of the objective group. But they may fairly ask us: Can your present and proffered outlook, apparently so external,

so regional and naturalistic, so industrial and technical, so anthropological and descriptive, offer any orderly emplacement also for ethics, for psychology and æsthetics? True, in first surveying our chosen region from our aeroplane, we observed mainly rustic valley landscapes, but less its towns and cities. Yet how cities accumulate, store and select regional memories and regional aspirations, and thus act as agents of social transmission, thereby supplementing the deficiencies of organic inheritance, we saw in a previous chapter. We saw also how the distinction between rural life and civic life is but a matter of proportion—that is, of relative passivity or activity to environment and tradition. The city is the hinge on which man turns from creature to creator.

This rustic life is interpretable primarily in terms of place, work and folk in that order. But for the interpretation of that which constitutes the essence of civic life, we must reverse the order of the formula. It will then read—

Folk → Work → Place.

These terms now acquire modification, corresponding to the actual transformations of men and things in cities. Taking civic life not by contemporary sample, but at its historic best, we see in its transmutations a higher potential all round. The Folk becomes a Polity as it is animated by moral purpose. Work is no longer determined by place, but by selection of means adjusted to more spiritual ends. Thus Occupation becomes Vocation, and Work takes on the character of Culture-activity. Place is correspondingly transformed, recreated as Art. These high phases of civic life are the true culmination and flowering of rustic life; and thus our formula passes into a higher version—in which Folk, Work, Place are transmuted, as—

Polity → Culture → Art.

We are now in a position to locate the sciences of the subjective group. The original formula was in the first place objective, then objective-subjective. In this new version, the formula is obviously of an interest and impulse primarily subjective, then becomes

subjective-objective, since impulses arise in the inner world of personality, but thence proceed to the transfiguration of the outer world, shaping it to purposive effect. The identification of each of the subjective sciences—ethics, psychology, æsthetics—with the corresponding aspects of this process is manifest. Survey the stream of inner life from the standpoint of moral purpose (*i.e.* of Folk reshaped to Polity), and the resulting specialism is Ethics; from the standpoint of mental working (*i.e.* of Culture-activity), it is (Social) Psychology; from the standpoint of environment transformed to beauty, it is Æsthetics. And out of the endeavour to co-ordinate these three specialisms there arises Sociology anew, and now in its more subjective aspect, just as our more objective sociology arose from the co-ordination of geography, economics and anthropology.

In further illustration of its efficacy and clearness, note how the double formula automatically translates itself into terms of mental process. Parallelizing now our full

social formula with the corresponding psychological one, we have—

Place →	Work →	Folk		POLITY →	Culture →	Art
Sense →	Intelligence →	Feeling		IDEAL →	Idea →	Image

Here then the full range of psychology is displayed in a way that relates its subject-matter to that of sociology; and also, what is more important, both alike to the concrete facts of everyday life. The advantage is twofold. Psychology through its correlation with sociology finds its needed unit in the valley-section. Simultaneously it secures its data in the mental life of the rustic types and of their civic variants. These types have long been recognized, alike by literature and popular thought, as the raw material of personality. All that rich and varied flowering of personality which transforms types into individuals thus secures recognition in the field of science. Personality in flesh and blood can thereby contribute to, and at the same time receive from, psychological science. In other words psychology is brought down from the academic cloister to the market-place and the home, and to its further

gain the market-place and the home ascend to the cloister.

With this simplifying and clarifying, the same fertilizing interaction is next seen to be possible between the life and labour of the people, and the whole group of humanistic sciences. To incorporate Woman and the People into the scientific culture of the age was the supreme ideal of Comte. Upon the possibility of that educational achievement he believed that the health and orderly progress of society depended. Sharing this ideal, the student of LePlay must peculiarly push on towards realizing its necessary complement. The health and orderly progress of the sciences may next be shown also to depend not a little on their incorporation into the life and culture of Woman and the People. Given these two conditions, of current and counter-current, in the elemental realities of life, labour and science; are we not again coming in sight of the *Instauratio Magna*, that Great Renewal, which Bacon foresaw, in the advent of modern science?

The renewal involves on the one side an uplift and ennoblement of popular life and

thought, and on the other a new birth for the humanist sciences. And that the latter are awakening from the torpor of their academic obsession with metaphysical entities, with premature abstractions, and other dead matter, there are many signs. Witness the psychology of William James, Stanley Hall and many more, the advance of art endeavour, and the progress of its appreciative criticism, above all the living (because social and civic) ethics which have been appearing on all sides.

But from the isolated (and therefore inhuman) academic closet, even from its many dissecting-rooms and charnel-houses, have come too much of the material and method of sciences as yet but humanist in name. From these dead or poisoned sources have issued the "Race" of the philologists, the "Capital" and "Labour" of the economists; just as definitely as the skulls and skeletons, which have fossilized anthropology.¹ So the

¹ For a vivid example of living anthropology and its illuminating value for current issues, see A. G. G.'s analysis and presentment of "The Great God Gun," *Daily News*, November 11, 1916.

exhumation of their literary equivalents, of "documents" and "archives," has been not merely of service but also of disservice for history. Indeed it is not only Lord Haldane but the great body of academic and official scientists (and of the humanist groups, far more than the naturalistic), who have had their "spiritual home" in Germany, though unlike him, they most of them lack the sincerity and courage to see and to confess it. The hope for the coming generation is not merely that its men of humanistic learning and science will escape from this Germanic thralldom, but that they, and the Germans too, will find new freedom, activity and life, through receiving and developing the sociological traditions of France. And for the Germanic communities, that may happily mean a new and greater Reception, a more fertile and lasting union of the Latin and the Teutonic spirit.

With such renovation, the shadowy figures of hunter, shepherd and peasant, of miner, forester and fisher, that have hitherto flitted darkly in the background of history and economics or been torn from their native soil

to furnish curiosities and anecdotes for anthropologists—indeed, from their very tombs to yield their skulls and weapons to the archaeologists—again become for science what they are in fact, the elemental types of civilized as well as of primitive society. Elemental man will thus again be seen as no mere arrestment in savagery or lingering survival in civilization. He will become realized as the very stuff of social life, renewing from generation to generation the essentials of humanity. Without his aptitudes and traditions, without his memories and aspirations, rural culture would cease, cities wither, nations stagnate and decay.

Maeterlinck has well said that if there is one fallacy more than another which the war has exploded, it is that the modern peoples have civilized and cultivated themselves out of the antique virtues. In evidence are cited prodigies of valour and miracles of enterprise displayed at the front by townsmen, educated and uneducated alike. The truth is, that given the conditions of renewal, the latent hunter in every man comes promptly to birth again. But the same

principle of evocation, the same re-education with it, holds also for the other elemental types, each in its own degree. Here there are truths, awaiting application when our statesmen turn from Wardom to Peacedom, from *Kriegspiel* to *Friedenspiel*. The Boy Scout movement is but an earnest of untold educational possibilities, as its principle of rustic renewal becomes extended and applied to the whole range of the primitive or nature occupations. And that consummation seems less remote, when we recall that in entire independence of sociological studies, French or other, more than one school of educationists has been busy with beginnings of a real training of the young by aiding them successively to appreciate and to master the characteristic conditions of each form of primitive life.

The genius of Kipling gave a convincing application of the principle, in *Captains Courageous*. Who can read that story without realizing the fishing fleet as an unrivalled school of conduct not only for the young hotheads of the leisure class, but for all classes? Similarly a season's apprenticeship

with the shepherd on the Downs, with the peasant in field and stockyard, with the forester and the miner or quarryman, is capable of evoking not a little of the qualities that come from the occupational struggle with these environments. What we want for our boys, in place of the existing elementary education, is an elemental one, with picked craftsmen for schoolmasters.¹ Here we submit is an after-war economy, which would simultaneously provide a school of the military virtues, under headmastership not of the drill-sergeant, but of the hunter, not less skilful and courageous because "converted." The cure for militarism is neither more militarism (as the Prussicators assume) nor more pacifism (as their critics too often assume), but a humanism springing directly from naturalism. In this direction surely lies a first step towards the Great Renewal.

¹ For a remarkable vision of co-ordinated general and craft education, carried out into fascinating detail, see a paper on "The Value and Importance of Handicraft in Education," by Henry Wilson, in *Report of the Conference on New Ideals in Education* (1916), obtainable from the Secretary, 24 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.

To recapitulate: Our original formula (Place, Work, Folk) of LePlay must be read two ways. It may be read forwards with the materialists, the determinists, who trace the influence of environment on economic conditions and of these on social institutions. But we must also read the formula in reverse order with thinkers of the more spiritual schools, who see the ideals of life reacting on labour and on environment; transmuting the former to Vocation and the latter to Beauty. Let us again set out our formula for this duplicate use—as it were on both sides of the shield:

Place → Work → Folk | Polity → Culture → Art.

Thus stated the formula brings together into one working system many rival schools supposedly irreconcilable. But the great advance it signifies goes even further. Its framework of Sociology is in precise congruence with the corresponding scheme and notation of Biology. It also suggests the parallelism of both these sciences with Psychology. Such claims, ambitious though they sound, may almost be verified by inspection when we set out the correspondence as follows—

Place	→	Work	→	Folk	Polity	→	Culture	→	Art
Sense	→	Intelligence	→	Feeling	Ideal	→	Idea	→	Image
Environment	→	Function	→	Organism	Organism	→	Function	→	Environment

This triply sixfold scheme now invites application to the whole field of the humanist sciences, and this not only for the orderly arrangement and interpretation of their own data, but also in their co-ordination with biology. So is afforded a clearer and completer presentment of all forms of Life in Evolution, from that of simplest nature to humanity at its most complex or its best. A beginning of systematic endeavour to substantiate this has been made elsewhere.¹

In the earlier chapters of the present volume we tried to show the Comte and LePlay formulæ at work, with little or no reference to their methodic aspects. In the present chapter we have outlined in briefest survey some later developments which the LePlay formulæ have undergone at the hands of naturalists who are also logicians. Their labours have necessarily been in the shade at a time when the sun of academic approbation shone upon a scheme of education that treated studies of life and logic as

¹ See *Civics as Applied Sociology*, already cited, p. 56.

unrelated specialisms. That confusion of thought is now beginning to be seen as the educational device of a society habituated to modern fortune-hunting by the trick of making man and machines interchangeable. To a community regulated by such ideals of success, a logic of life that was vital would have been nothing but a hindrance. What it wanted for spiritual comfort and mental justification was a logic of life that was mechanistic. It has long enough got what it wanted under our Germanic régime of specialisms, each and all isolated in thought, and at most, empirically linked for “practical” purposes, in industry and politics. The French tradition, so long obscured in a mechanical and State-ridden age, is of the opposite tendency. It cares first for unity of thought in terms of life, and hence it appreciates, and even prefers, diversity in politics and industry. With the escape of the western universities from their Germanic thralldom, an immense clearing up of philosophical *débris* will begin. We have tried to show how adapted to this task and to the corresponding renewal are these guiding

threads from LePlay and Comte, of which our formulæ are but developments.

In literature and philosophy, myth and religion, there have ever been presented two predominant theories of life. The one view sees life bowed before inexorable fate, submissive to impassive Gods; the other shows life overthrowing Titans, achieving heroic labours.

Religious sects have been wont to erect one or the other view into dogma, and stand immutable thereon. Philosophers have generalized one view as Determinism, the other as Liberterianism; and have disputed interminably as to which is the one and only true doctrine. But, as we have seen, each view falls, simply and inevitably into its place in our duplicate formula—on the left hand is the determination of life by circumstance, and on the right the re-domination of circumstance by life. Again, observe how writers of romance and their works arrange themselves as predominantly on one side or the other. Witness Scott or Fielding, with

the novel primarily of circumstance on the left, and Richardson or Jane Austen, with the novel of character on the other. In childhood we read impartially *Robinson* and *Pilgrim* by turns, for life was then in active progress. Only with the fixation of maturity do we settle down to an insistence on one view, an under-valuation of the other, and so dispute as to which is true, on the absurd assumption of mutual exclusiveness. Thus educationists have tended to over-emphasize the importance of nurture, as too many eugenists now do those of nature. Modern evolution theories have for the most part but renewed the old quarrel in their particular terms, and have disputed between "Luck or Cunning," one harshly insisting on "the All-Sufficiency of Natural Selection," another on subjective uplifts left too indefinite. But our formula shows all these contrasted schools as but respectively emphasizing and elaborating the more objective and the more subjective sides of life, individual and social. It recognizes as "a legitimate materialism," a standpoint from which the parallelism of vital and social, even of material and mental,

processes, not only may, but must, be stated in determinist language. Yet the reciprocal conception, the idealistic view and philosophy is equally demanded and recognized; indeed, no less explicitly set forth by the complementary formula, that of a "legitimate transcendentalism." As we progress in the every-day world, by steps with alternate feet, so with this higher progress. It is through the every-day world too, and this seen with fresh and freshening eyes of naturalistic realism; yet also with fresh insight and freshening hope, even faith as well, of idealistic renewal. And it is after all by these elements that biologist and sociologist alike must measure the unending ascent of evolution.

Do classifications of ideas, such as the above, still seem to be of purely academic interest, and of correspondingly little practical value? But classifications, when not merely logical, but vital also, bear fruit in resulting clarifications. Sectarianism is rampant in every department of life and thought; and it flourishes on the current mental isolation with

its resulting Babel of confusion, its arbitrary distinctions, its false antitheses. But now, a wider co-operation of men of goodwill, of all diverse groups of thought and action, a larger working together, is beginning, of which the nation's unification through the war, the splendid solidarity of the Allies, are but earnest. Such unison in action must be associated with growing unity in thought, and corresponding clarity of purpose. Towards this coming Great Renewal, three parallel movements are indispensable. The renewal of life, the renewal of labour, and the renewal of thought, must run concurrently and in correlation. The remaking of the nations calls for all the resource of science and art, and these demand their reshaping as philosophy, even their re-idealization at once by poetry and by religion. Our formulation of life has thus its fullest advance before it: that of co-ordinating these highest forms of life and this towards creative purpose.

CHAPTER XI

THE COMING UNIVERSITY MILITANT

WITH the previous chapter we brought to an end our long journey through the outer world of reality and the inner world of higher reality called ideality. To retrace the main stages. We began with history, in order to ensure our contacts with the living past and in the hope of selecting its better survivals and continuing its nobler tendencies. Next we made a journey on foot along the high places in order to see the world with our own eyes and discover what Man is doing in it and with it. This exploration took us into the field of rustic labour, with its supreme ideal of the Good Shepherd and its perennial temptation, which is reversion to the predatory life of the hunt. Next we followed to town the peasant turning citizen and builder. We made a perambulation of cities, and saw these as not only the treasure houses of civiliza-

tion, but also as its essential creative organs. How cities work for the enhancement and progress of life, yet also for its repression and debasement, we saw. Finally, we made an incursion into the realm of logic and philosophy. There we saw good ground for supposing that a logic which is also a calculus of life may be developed by following the clues of our previous wanderings.

Such a calculus of life is needed for that co-ordination of knowledge and orchestration of spiritual resources which will differentiate the coming order from the passing chaos. The transition towards a more vital era was proceeding even before the war, but confusedly and with infinite friction. How will it proceed after the war? Will the strain and struggle of conflicting interests prolong the transition and defer the genuinely preparatory phase, so that still more generations be condemned to wander in the wilderness? Or, on the other hand, can we hope to usher in promptly the preparatory period and so encourage our successors of the next generation with the prospect of more positive achievement?

It is surely safe to assume at least a continuance of that moral ferment which is the fruit of the war. And as this works, a thousand changes will ensue which cannot be foreseen. But by making a predictive effort, it is possible to create a current of interest, with corresponding concentration of energies. And thus the movement of thought and feeling may be influenced in a given direction, or deflected from a contrary tendency. Such is the exercise we now propose.

Around some nucleus of spiritual influence, the adherents of the coming polity will gather. An institutional germ will thus appear, which under favouring circumstances and with determined purpose may grow to vigorous maturity. Without attempting to forecast its mature development, let us try to catch some glimpses of its initial phase.

The startpoint of our predictive analysis is, of course, that of the principles expressed or implied in the present volume. More specifically the problem is one of transition from the competitive individualism of pre-war days to the larger unison hoped for in sequel

to the war. How, in fact, to maintain the co-operation, the strenuousness, the self-abnegation of the war into after-war time; and to direct these energies towards the tasks of a more efficient and nobler public life than heretofore. The ideal of each "doing his or her bit" arose under impulse of a common national aim. The ideal has been, in no small measure, realized, because the war by its redemptive qualities compelled us to think of the national energies no longer in fragments but as a whole. Cannot this conception of Social Synergy be maintained into the after-war reconstruction? The core of the problem is to arouse a personal sense of definite responsibilities including and transcending each one's own life and work.

The nation will doubtless rise to the occasion in proportion as a clear yet moving vision of a better future is revealed, and the means towards its gradual realization grasped as a matter of goodwill and a task of practical organization. The readjustment of existing groups, institutions and interests to these needs and responsibilities cannot be expected to occur spontaneously. There is required

some type of social organ specifically adjusted to aid the new birth. There are already tendencies pointing to an adaptation of both university and city in this direction. In a forthcoming volume¹ we shall examine these tendencies and try to indicate how they may be accelerated and co-ordinated. Here we briefly and somewhat cursorily put forward the concept of the "University Militant," as the sequel and practical application of ideas already discussed in the foregoing chapters.

As a germ it exists in not a few places and begins to function; but the name university militant is suggested by a book under that title by Mr. Charles Ferguson (published by Mitchell Kennerly, New York), the author also of a book called *The Affirmative Intellect*. In these two books is developed the idea of diffusing the spirit of the university, as a leaven to ferment pervasively through the everyday world of work and affairs. Not only the sanction of the past but the tendencies of the present are interpreted and invoked by Mr. Ferguson,

¹ *University and City: a Study in Personality and Citizenship.*

to fortify the ideal of thus transforming Business and Politics from a sordid struggle for survival into a civic and regional direction of energies to the maintenance and ennoblement of life.

Mere freedom from the temptations of wealth is no protection against the limiting influences of the cloistered life. The university, if it is to be truly militant, must be affirmative, selective, predictive. It must submit its doctrines to the test, and not only of reasoned criticism but of creative adventure in the practical world. It must put its faith in life, impassioned and purposive. The calm of the speculative life must needs find a place in the university militant; but as that of the seed, whose period of germination is followed in due season by leafage, flower and fruit.

Let not this be misunderstood. Universities of the past and present have been concerned more with knowledge and its increase than with its application to life and social weal. The university militant must not reverse that tradition, but seek to stimulate

its fertility of outcome, since these times call for action: and for action directed by knowledge, and inspired by the spirit of the university. That spirit at its best is not simply of detachment, nor even of experiment, but also of corporate idealism.

The market-place and the forum need more of this spirit, and the university likewise. An intimate co-operation of all three with one another, and with the Church, in the tasks and problems of each, is surely the needed way to raise the potential of all four.

To repair the havoc of the war, and to use its stimulus of idealism towards the renewal of life in true Peace, constitutes—it cannot be too often reiterated—the prime opportunity of the opening day. Business and Politics, Education and Religion—these four quarters of the social world—have now an unparalleled opportunity of simultaneously re-making our shattered civilization, and of reforming themselves. Let them but seize the proffered chance and fearlessly handle it with all the resource available; for only thus may it befall that the generation which has suffered the great catastrophe may also

begin effectually to achieve—and in a far wider and fuller sense—the Great Renewal foreseen by Bacon, and so long deferred.

Indeed, has not this Renewal already begun? Are there not signs on all sides of reawakening? Reconstruction is becoming a leading topic of the day in English journals. In France, characteristically, the talk is more of Re-education. In the war-ruined areas, those who are trying to set the process of civilization going again, have as their first care the Renewal of social life. Reconstruction, Re-education, Renewal—are not these to be the watchwords of coming statesmanship—a policy of the “three R’s,” new style! The “new education” of which we were beginning to hear before the war, was and is aiming at replacing the traditional three R’s of the closed schoolroom, by an open course of three H’s—an Education of Heart, Head and Hand. What is Renewal, if not primarily a rejuvenation of men’s Hearts? Thereafter Re-education, with its clearing up and refurnishing of Heads, so that with all this, Reconstruction may prosper in doubly invigorated Hands.

Instead of the single solutions commonly favoured, there are to any and every problem—as we have repeatedly urged—many necessary lines of approach of which the economic, the mental and the moral are essential ones. Yet, as above, we must reverse this particular order of precedence, which has been that of the tradition we are escaping, and hence look first to moral advance, then to mental, and thus to economic. Or, best of all—let the complete triad go on together, and with alternating rhythm as well.

How should the coming university militant orient itself towards the changes in our social structure needed in more than the obvious areas of reconstruction after war? It must appeal to all ages to re-educate themselves. It will appeal to all to participate in the re-making of homes and villages, cities and countries devastated by the war, or dilapidated from earlier causes. Towards the re-education of individuals, the reconstruction of places, and the renewal of social life, the university militant must give its help, and this alike in social studies and social action. And these, as far as may be, together. When

the Sociological Society and the Institute of Social Service were both being founded, at the same time, about a dozen years ago, representatives of each group discussed the possibilities of co-operation, even as far as a common library and hall for meeting. But the theoreticians were afraid of the practitioners, and perhaps still more conversely : so each went its own way, to struggle henceforth alone. But is not the time riper now to reunite such endeavours in the twinned studies and laboratories of the university militant?

Meantime, let any inquirer refer himself to the Social Science Department of the nearest university. If such a Department does not exist, the attention of those able to remedy the defect should be called to the example of universities like London and Liverpool, Birmingham and Glasgow, which are creating such schools, or aiding in the establishment of extra-mural ones. American universities are more frequently thus equipped : but, in point of fact, the immediately practicable resources available for re-education, reconstruction and renewal are as yet to be found mainly outside the

universities. They are largely to be sought in detached and unofficial organizations, in books and documents not always on academic shelves, and also in the unrecorded experience of living pioneers.* Many a city librarian can help with information about social, civic and educational movements and the corresponding literature.

The university militant must not fall behind in research, but it must make this research not for knowledge merely, but for the sake of action. Social action thus designed and inspired is as yet too rare, though limited as often by our feebleness of will as by our lack of knowledge. Taken at their best, recent initiatives such as Town-planning (City-planning is the better name used in America), Child-welfare, Occupational Education, Conservation of Resources, may be cited as examples of activities progressing in interaction with advancing knowledge: each of these is a large and complex movement, pursuing not only its own immediate ends, but bringing together inquiries and endeavours hitherto much isolated, often even in different professions.

As he embarks on these movements of co-ordination, or enters these nascent civic laboratories, the student-practitioner comes to grips with the deep issues of his life. How to discern and select what is best in the whole armoury of culture-resources? How to unify this into a vision which shall guide and inspire him as his personal ideal? How to apply it as his social aim and policy? Here are vital questions for him; and here are problems which each must ultimately solve for himself, but with help that in these days is sadly lacking.

But our student-practitioner is still far from the end of his strenuous pilgrimage: in the midst of his quest the modern sphinx reappears, with her ever-repeated riddle. And for failure to find a working solution, the penalty is, as always, decay and extinction of the spirit. *Œdipus*, as Sophocles saw and showed, only succeeded in answering life's conundrum by purging his soul of its evil inheritance.

The prosperity of the commonwealth depends, it is true, on its citizens receiving their Social Heritage of Good, and not

destroyed but increased in transmission. Yet protection against the Social Burden of Evil, and transmutation of its virus, is a prior requisite, as the oldest religions testify, and the latest of the sciences confirms. Hence, before (or at least coincident with) matters of welfare, education and betterment, comes the personal struggle with evil, the social mission of purification. Here manifestly is needed the counsel and co-operation of all that is best in the many branches of the Church Militant, with its immemorial tradition of spiritual healing. Without some such idealistic and moral purification, the labours of those who would rebuild society are ever in vain. We should be repeating the secularistic blunders of the mere anti-clerical revolutionist in France, and indeed of British and American nineteenth-century industrialism and politics, but with their climax reversed. Instead of the Emancipated Individual (anarchic because self-centred), we might be faced with his twin-monster, the Servile State.

Of these two idols, the worshippers are neither insignificant nor few. Happily there are old and traditional ways, ever capable of

renewal, by which such idols may be overthrown and their demons exorcised. First, by evocation of the deeper individuality, ever latent in youth, and patent in truly developed maturity and age. To awaken this essential personality to creative activity, to purge it of dross, and to enlarge its sympathies, to do all this and more, are the purposes of religion and education at their associated best. This association has existed in the past, and it must be renewed again. Its fruit will be recognized in the liberation of the soul to true freedom. And there is a sure test and certain measure of this higher personal freedom. It is capacity for thought that is also and at the same time instinct with social imagery; and for self-expression and fulfilment in deed that is also and at the same time social service and achievement. Thus enriched with social vision, clarified too by prevision, we may escape both Scylla and Charybdis, and from the present strife between anarchy and repression, come to citizenship and culture, in mutually helpful progress.

Towards this better world we desire, and would create, the approaches are becoming

charted. To move along them all and as far as may be at the same time and in orderly fashion (like sappers in the parallel trenches of the old-fashioned siege) should surely be the aim of sound social generalship. How to take part in this, every man for himself, yet each for all, is the clamant problem of practical ethics. It is thus central among the aims which the university militant should state and keep steadfastly before itself.

The more searchingly we test our actions and aspirations by such questionings, the more shall we feel the need of deliberately designed social experiment, in the best sense of tentative and germinal endeavour. An expression of the efforts and idealisms of individuals and groups, and the bringing of these increasingly together, may be effected not only by discussion of problems, but by participation in tasks. The university militant would thus begin to take form in the meeting-grounds and clearing-houses of such ideas and initiatives, and of others, as yet too isolated. Ideas would thus be helped towards synthesis, and initiatives become increasingly co-operant. Given the impulse of collective

activity, the growing vision of a common goal, further developments would naturally follow; even in time a full orchestration of culture resources and of their application to practical affairs on an ever-expanding scale.

Consider, for instance, the need for a systematic study of all that new social tissue generated by the centralizing tendencies of war. From the concentrated war government there have ramified threads of control that touch every side of life public and private, external and intimate. Suppose this network of social organization were studied, neither in the spirit of contemporary politics, nor in the fervour of reforming impulse, but in the dispassionate and disciplined way of research. Its record of performance and failure in war-time, its ever-changing structure and function, would all be observed and interpreted as the vastest of social experiments. Its potentialities for good and for evil in after-war reconstruction, its adaptability to the former, its divertibility from the latter, would be estimated and valued. From such studies should emerge the vision of a national objective and a plan of national reconstruction.

Assume for instance that the British Association with co-operation from the Sociological Society and the Town Planning Institute, were to take the lead in assembling, for this research, representatives from the relevant societies, scientific and practical. The congress so convoked would differ from the Reconstruction Committee in official operation, as the coming university militant will differ from academic courts and councils as they are to-day.

The university militant will in its essence stand for the association of thought and action, in that crucial and continuing experiment we call life. Its motto may not be *Vivendo discimus*, but that will be the principle of its action. Towards the needed reunion of thought with action and of both with life, there is happily no lack of beginnings, and some of them are genuinely experimental, in the sense of carefully planned design. The more these can be brought into unison, the nearer will be the conscious formation of the university militant. By what sign shall we recognize the approach of this? How will its coming birth be manifested?

The mediæval proverb, that "Three make a College," does not tell how many colleges it takes to make a university. However that may be, it is safe to predict that even when it comes to fruition, the university militant will become no chartered creation of officialdom, but remain as a co-operation of ideas and of initiatives of the more galilean type indicated in the proverb. Indeed, without irreverence, may we not adapt a high watchword of the Church Militant, and say that wherever two or three are gathered together in the name of Pallas, there is the university?

Towards co-operation in ideas and in action, may not this concept of the university militant become of service? May we not imagine it beginning here and there to furnish a common tie among students and investigators, a concrete bond among social workers, and to bring their contributions to thought and action more definitely together? Papers, pamphlets, books of synthetic spirit or constructive tendency might thus aid each other's diffusion and in the right quarters. Lectures and demonstrations, discussions and congresses, exhibitions, etc., might also thus

become linked into fuller (but always free) co-operation. University Extension and kindred agencies might also aid and be aided towards a fuller co-ordination of activities, and this not only social and intellectual but even material. (For why not a clearing-house of lecture syllabuses, and bibliographies for study, even of books for reading, lantern slides for lecturing, and so on?) Summer schools, too, are peculiarly gathering places for the university militant.

Yet this needed movement, though it will have to be frankly and widely popular, and take part in all activities such as University Extension and the rest, must not fail to concentrate upon the fullest university level also, and indeed upon this above all. The very best of popularizing is done by the original thinker and worker — as witness Huxley in his day, and many, up to M. Bergson even, in ours. "The stream of facts," a wise old professor of our youth was wont to say, "will be found to run in the channel of the deepest speculation"; we shall only deal effectively with either education or reconstruction in concurrent investigation

of the riddles of personality and of social evolution, and as we attain the fuller mastery of the sciences as well as of their applications.

Who, then, in University or in City, is for the university militant? And where and how and when shall its banner be raised? Its theses prepared and discussed? Above all, its aspirations expressed in reconstructive endeavour? The plain citizen will doubtless ask, where and how can the university militant find habitat and a home in his city? The answers to that question should be many and diverse, varying with the personality of each city and the character and tradition of its region. Already may be discerned many types of the civic response to this need. In American cities of the middle-west, from Wisconsin to Kansas, militant initiatives have arisen within the universities themselves. The same may be said of English universities like Liverpool, and still more notably, Aberystwyth, where researches in the natural and the humanistic sciences are concurrent and interactive and are worked out in practical applications to rural development and to education.

Of extra-academic initiatives, we will instance a few examples, chosen from those of which the accidents of life have given us personal knowledge. There are others of which we know by hearsay. And there must be many of which we know nothing. *Place aux dames*. Long before the great Italian educationist had won popularity amongst us, Miss Margaret McMillan was playing the part of an English Montessori and more. Wherever Miss McMillan gathers round her a band of workers, yesterday in Bradford, to-day in Deptford, there the standard of the university militant is raised; for their activities combine psychological research with educational experiment and this again with civic advancement. The grand problem of Miss McMillan's research is to work out on the plane of modern science the ancient aspiration of adapting the city to child life.

Another example may be cited from the activities of that group at once citizens and students, long associated with Paul Desjardins. Combining art, learning and philosophy they are veritable neo-Benedictines, oscillating between the Latin Quarter of

Paris and a Breton Abbey. Of the Edinburgh School of Sociology, composed also of men and women who are both students and citizens, with their civic laboratory or Outlook Tower, we have already spoken and will only add here, that if every city had its Outlook Tower, that would naturally become the postal address of the local university militant. Again there is the Workers' Educational Association, of whose innumerable branches, some engage in no mere passive studies, but are active in the research of knowledge for social application. The same is true also of the Round Table Group, whose ideal it is to transform the British Empire into the British Commonwealth. And this, they seek to achieve in the spirit of the university militant, because they unite the problems of political science with the tasks of practical politics and leaven the national and imperial impulse with a touch of humanist enthusiasm. Precisely complementary to the activities of the Round Table Group is the work of Mr. C. H. Grinling, Mr. Edward McGegan and their colleagues in Woolwich. With infinite patience they have devoted

long years to the intensive culture of their own local community. The ideal they are gradually realizing is that of a Labour College which finds at once its studies and their practical applications in the educational problems and the civic tasks of a metropolitan borough and its relations to the wider world. All these and many more are buds on the growing shoot of the university militant.

But of more general interest than any single initiative is the transformation which the University Social Settlement movement is undergoing. This movement completed the cycle of its first generation at about the time of the outbreak of the war. Surveying it from the standpoint of 1914, a not unfriendly German critic pronounced the movement a "fiasco of humanitarian Liberalism." What he saw, in coming to this harsh verdict, was the smallness of results achieved amid the welter of East End confusion in London and the great industrial cities where the Settlements have pursued their labours. What he failed to see was the spirit of inquiry and experiment which has long been growing up within the movement, transforming it

from a too facile acceptance of the existing basis of social conditions into an active solvent of them and soon maybe into an energetic agent of re-crystallization. The great survey of Mr. Charles Booth was much of it carried out in detail by residents and associates of Toynbee Hall. The practical application of the information gathered, was a problem left on the lap of the Gods. But the idea of Survey for Service is establishing itself amongst the Settlements. As the resulting habit and practice of uniting Diagnosis with Treatment extends and develops throughout the Settlements, it will no longer be possible to accuse them of being "hunting-grounds for budding bureaucrats," because they will increasingly become training-grounds for civic statesmen. And in the emergent Polity, the Regional Survey will take its place and achieve its fulfilment in a reshaping of environment more in accord with the finer ideals. As the conception of Utopia was the product of academic imagination dissociated from scientific knowledge and local welfare, so the combination of these will give rise to a constructive concept for

which we shall argue, in the next chapter, viz. that of Eutopia. And as utopia is nowhere, so eutopia may be everywhere that children grow and flowers blossom.

But where do children grow, *i.e.* as nature and a real civilization would have them, "in favour with God and Man"? That growth begins of course in the Home, provided the parents can there concentrate adequate resources. And to the needed domestic equipment, the researches and experiments of Miss McMillan and similar workers are making cardinal contributions. Beyond the home, a fitting and comprehensive introduction to the wider world is furnished by the Boy Scout movement, provided that be extended to the whole range of nature occupations.

The Boy Scout period runs from about eleven to sixteen. But there is now the Junior Organization of Wolf Cubs, which admits boys of eight years. Here, therefore, if we balance the Scout programme with the Regional Survey is the elemental school, capable of carrying the boy forward in his human apprenticeship from childhood up to the critical and formative period of youth.

Beyond the School of Scouts is manifestly needed an educational institution of kindred type. Its essential aim would be the organization of appropriate openings and opportunities for the inquiring instincts, and the impulsive faculties of later youth and early manhood. We submit that the university militant is adaptable to this purpose. In due sequel to the Scout's School of Nature, would follow in the ascent of the educational ladder, the Civic College of Humanities. The latter would have its contemplative and its active phase corresponding to the two aspects of the Scout's education, but in reverse order, the more subjective stage coming first in harmony with the natural growth of adolescence. "Going to college" would thus continue the traditional custom of entering the citizen's world through the cloister gate, but in a more vital and concrete sense. The young student would have behind him the objective life, of mine and forest, of hunting camp and sheep pasture, of farm and garden, of seamanship and fishery. But he has not only played the game of the nature-occupations up and down the "valley-section."

He has also had the objective-subjective experience of the corresponding "school," with its Rural Survey of the Region and its multiform life. He has shared, too, in the rural art and culture, which flourishes where the rustic folk have not suffered prolonged repression. On entering college the youth develops the subjective life of the cloister. Therein he integrates into an affirmative personality the scouting and school experiences and memories, by combining them with his own selection from the culture heritage of literature and science, philosophy and religion. To give due concreteness and unity to college studies, the Civic Survey is available, as was the more rural aspect of the Regional Survey for school studies. Thus the fragments of our school programme and the specialisms of our university curricula acquire meaning and reality as approaches towards a definite objective. The student's understanding of his own Region, past, present, and possible, in its relation to Nature and to Civilization is this objective. He thus comes to regard himself and his fellow-members of the regional community as alternatively

Mirror of, and Reagent to the cosmos and humanity.

Next follows the subjective-objective life of active citizenship. And this it is which crowns and completes the educational cycle. To the Play of nature-occupations succeeded the Repose of the cloistered college; and to this, the sequel and complement is the Great Game of Civics. In the first period the boy acquired some mastery of the environmental tools. He also entered and absorbed the life of the Folk. In the second, the youth explored the mysteries of his inner life, adjusted its disturbances and gained self-mastery.¹ Finally, as Master of Arts, he applies his knowledge, his skill, his new-found social impulse, to the finer tasks of civic life. In short, he has discovered his Vocation in the creative world of Polity, Culture, Art. His career lies henceforth in the expression and fulfilment of his maturing personality in the maintenance and development of his city

¹ In a subsequent volume of the series (*Science and Sanctity: a Study of Spiritual Renewal*) will be studied some of the historic resources developed in religious practice addressed to the problems of adolescence and rejuvenescence.

and region. Thus city and citizen develop together in accord with the grand law of human evolution, that Man and his Environment evolve or deteriorate together.

Is it objected that all this is too much "in the air" to be of practical value? That is probably the criticism with which most "practical" men met the Boy Scout project when first mooted. But in less than a decade it has built up a membership of nearly three-quarters of a million. When war broke out, the Scouts proved to be a reserve army of no mean order. All the public services have drawn on that reserve. The Admiralty has taken two thousand for coastguard service and seven hundred for signalling and other work in the Grand Fleet. In a number of towns, the fire brigades are manned entirely by Boy Scouts. In one city alone no fewer than three hundred are used for supplementary police duty. The same tale could be told of auxiliary service in all departments of public life.

Let us assume the idea of the university militant, and the due preparation and training for it as, in principle, accepted, the

practical problem then becomes one of adaptation. That it is possible to go far in adapting even the official elementary school of common type to a realistic and open-air education many initiatives prove; and above all that of the Mixenden School in Yorkshire, which under its present headmaster, Mr. Arrowsmith, has become a cutting edge of progress.¹ So the question of adapting the existing resources of Higher Education to the idea of the university militant may not be so difficult as at first sight it seems. Thus the School of Mines' Museum, the "Central" College of Technology, the School of Forestry, only need to be removed respectively from Piccadilly, South Kensington and Oxford: the first to South Wales; the second to Sheffield or Leeds, Birmingham or Newcastle; the third to the Scottish Highlands, to become all of them Regional and therefore vitalized to a higher potential of militancy. Again, there are many and excellent schools of Biology and Psychology, Economics and Ethics, to be found inside the universities and sometimes still more excellent ones outside. Isolated

¹ See "New Ideals of Education" already cited p. 201.

into more or less water-tight compartments within their own university, these schools only need to be brought into closer relation with each other and with the local tasks and problems of health and education, of poverty and welfare : and thus would be taken a long stride towards the university militant. Conceive also what a stimulus to the *elan vital* of city and region, if everywhere the schools of Art and of Music would address themselves more directly to the development of local drama, pageantry, masque, and generally to the adornment, good ordering and enhancement of regional and civic life. That, perhaps, is the shortest, as it is certainly the most cheerful, way to the university militant.

It will be recalled that, in the selected examples, we presented the idea of the university militant, as manifesting its crude contemporary beginnings more in adult than in youthful activities. That is but a passing symptom of present limitations. For most having suffered the paralysis and the illusions of "education" without enjoying its realities,

have been constrained to seek these in later life by shifts of cultural salvage. Let it not be thought, however, that in the coming polity, the mature and the aged are to be excluded from the joys of educational militancy. On the contrary, the university militant may look forward to uniting in one confraternity, the *élite* of youths, of adults and of the aged in its own city and region. Indeed its very essence and spirit will derive from the evocatory interaction of youth with age. When the coming university draws freely from those springs of adolescence and from these sources of rejuvenescence, it will yield its community an enrichment of spirit, an enhancement of life, and a liberation of energies, such as we of these long-repressed generations cannot estimate or even imagine.

It may well be asked where in all this project of higher education is the part of woman? That is primarily a question for women themselves to answer. But manifestly there is no phase in the life cycle of man

from infancy onwards when his dependence on woman is not profound and pervasive. As the cycle unfolds itself the dependence becomes more spiritual but none the less real. The high pinnacles of life are to be climbed only through mutual stimulus and interaction of the sexes. Suppose, for instance, that the university militant were deliberately to apply its organs of research to inventing and applying "moral equivalents of war." An abiding ennoblement of masculine passion would result, if the eager dispositions of Youth, the creative energies of Maturity and the political ambitions of Age, were harnessed to social purposes under guidance of woman's impulse and ideals.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION—REGIONAL EUTOPIAS

THE drama of the world is ever in progress. When we say that this drama "takes *place*," we are speaking from the regional outlook, though we have become unconscious of the fact, since the expression is nowadays so worn as to have lost its literal and proper meaning. As to the where and the how of the "taking place," or coming to birth of events, it is the purpose of the newspaper to inform us. The journalist from day to day and week to week locates for us the main theatre of the world-drama by his choice and interpretation of "news." He surveys the stream of current events, and according to his standard of values makes his "selections." That is the phrasing of the sporting column and the racecourse. Generalized, it may fairly be applied to the

whole field of news service. Thus by journalistic selection, and the educational system which supports it, are determined our spectacle of the world-phantasmagoria, our view of contemporary social evolution.

But does not the journalist's survey insufficiently recognize that the Great Play is "taking place" in some shape or form all the time and everywhere that human communities live and work? Sometimes, as in war, famine and pestilence, the drama works out as the Destruction of Cities, a Tragedy of Regional Life. But normally it shows itself in all those activities which, region by region, go towards the making of peace, and a home for man on his planet. In these manifold and varied activities lie the elements of the Regional Drama. We may observe them and, as we ascend and descend the linked river valley, name them by type of occupation. Each kind of work takes place where its natural conditions exist, where its stuff of operation is found. The natural conditions commonly determine a normal sequence of occupations, although, of course, not all necessarily present, nor, if present,

always in the same order. As we have seen, the order is commonly as follows : the miner with his extraction and transport of minerals ; the forester with his exploitation (by and by care) of the forest ; the hunter with his pursuit (and preservation) of game ; the peasant with his crops, his rearing of stock, and his seasonal cultivation of field and garden ; and finally, the fisher and seafarer, with all the simple or commercial adventures of the sea. Within this complex of rustic and maritime labours, with their innumerable urban developments, complements and counterparts, lie the human interests that give to them meaning and purpose. These are, first of all, the mating of men and women, the making of homes and the tending of children ; with the rise and fall of families, accordingly, and these of characteristic types. From these family types there arise the essentials of the characteristic institutions ; and thus the student passes step by step from the simpler study of man face to face with nature, to the sociology of larger and more complex groupings. He now follows the making and the lapsing of these social groups, and from this

to the making, the building and maintenance of cities, in all the sunshine and shadow of their ups and downs, their interactions, competitions and struggles; in short, their complexities of health and disease, of war and peace. Such is the stream of events, each and all charged with its elements of drama, and continuously visible through this changeful, yet orderly, kaleidoscope of the regional and civic outlook.

The student may next inquire if, amid this ceaseless flow of happenings, for better and for worse, the news that is really significant is seized, collected and presented. Does not that which is vital and essential too often escape attention? For to the Press, as one of its apologists remarked the other day, a single infuriate who throws his chair out of the window is of far more interest than three millions who use their chairs in the ordinary way.

Has not the time come for seeking out methods of survey more exacting, and putting into use standards of interpretation at once more cognisant and more penetrative of the normal life than those commonly applied

in press, platform and pulpit, or recognized in school and college? Is not this present crisis (nothing less than that of western civilization,) pressing us towards a Re-Survey of the world, region by region, city by city? and to the corresponding searching out of more real values and more real standards by which to appraise them? Thereby we should still satisfy all our legitimate scientific curiosities, indeed far more fully than ever; but also the better prepare ourselves for the needed Reconstruction. And must not the rustic, the vital, the ethical—in short, the regional outlook, as we use that term—increasingly supplement the recent and present too purely urban outlook, with its mechanical, venal and legalistic point of view, which is, and so long has been, alone predominant in our politics, in our education, and even in our science?

The beginning of this change comes as we re-educate ourselves to discern everywhere and at all times, renewing from generation to generation, the local and regional scenes which contribute to the world-drama, that reflect it and merge into it. Intertwining in

these larger issues is the life-story of each and every individual, which, like that of each soldier in the war, is ever poignantly alternating between the parts of actor and spectator. To the wider view, the drama unfolds as national, or "racial," as federal, even as human; yet to the narrower but intenser it is also domestic and local, regional and civic. Assuredly each is integral to the series. All alike, these outlooks and their corresponding endeavours have, therefore, to be valued. What are the tests? It will be agreed that in each contributory rôle there must be that which is intrinsically worthy; that which is definitely constructive and serviceable in the Here and Now, and yet looks to the Beyond both in space and in time.

To arouse, to express and develop the sense of community in all these directions is surely a vital problem for the education of the individual. And correspondingly for statesmanship. For what is this if not the task of creating opportunities for communitary life and expression at their fullest and best (yet with and through due freedom of individual development), at every level; not

only throughout the whole range of the commonwealth, but in its relation to the other commonwealths beyond its own bounds. But neither the educational problem nor the political task can be adequately dealt with, until to the People has been shown a fuller Vision, that of their own life in all its ever-widening relations, its expanding possibilities. In this vision, the Personal and the Regional, the National and the Human, must be reconciled in common purpose, and combined in militant effort. But how may such a vision be expected to arise? Whence are to come the ideals from which vision and purpose may clearly emerge?

The hard-crusted societies of the belligerent nations have, under the hammer-strokes of war, become pliable. Old bonds have been loosened, old restraints removed. New impulses have been liberated, new outlooks opened. In this ferment of war-time and after-war preparation, the way out of traditional deadlocks will be discerned. It is even now being pointed to, and this at once by

reflection and by experiment. May it not next be boldly yet carefully planned, by application of long-known or appearing laws of natural and social evolution? So may be discovered or devised better ways of life. Not fancifully Utopian, but rooted in evolutionary tendencies; and therefore realizable, if we plan for them with foresight for our own and the coming generations, and as the forester plants for growth beyond his own lifetime. Utopian proposals, however promising, are without definite place, and therefore are futile and fanciful; but those that find place, (*i. e.* are regional,) are also realizable; and these plannings and plantings, each in their right place for survival and growth, we shall call Eutopian. Indeed, this deep and thorough distinction was not absent from the mind of Sir Thomas More, habitual word-maker, wit, and even punster as he was, like so many of the intellectuals of that age of transition in life, and of corresponding elaboration in language.

Of such Eutopian ideals, therefore, let us take stock. The first manifestly is this—that the destruction of regional life and

beauty which, since the Industrial Revolution, has characterized peace hardly less than war should cease, and should everywhere give place to spaciouly planned development; and this in countryside and village, in town and city. But the other, and complementary, ideal for Eutopia looks to the development of personality within each individual. For eutopia is an environment ensuring the survival not merely of the fittest but of the best. It aims to evoke the best that is latent in spirit, mind and body; to restrain lower impulses and transmute them to higher ones, and to give these expression and fulfilment in life again, effective, beautiful and noble, as among the Greeks, at their best, of old. It emphasizes the collective responsibility of opening to all, without distinction of sex or class, not only opportunities of livelihood, but careers of service and of honour. But beyond this due and full recognition of the claims of individualism, the Eutopian ideal is concerned with the well-being of communities in their regions, cities and nations; with the friendly coming together of national groups, and so on

increasingly, up to the growing establishment of the Human Commonwealth.

But these are not so many separate and distinct ideal systems, as their respective projectors, cultivators and adherents have been too apt to assume. That way mere Utopias lie. Of every scientific Eutopia there are three aspects—Personal, Regional, Human; but these are simultaneous and co-ordinate: in fact, the three dimensions of Eutopia; while Utopia is nowhere, without them all. They are the orientation planes of the substantial tower which science, despite all lapses and failures, is slowly building for the outlooks of the eutopian vision. It is, therefore, no chimera, but a necessary and legitimate task of science, to search out and define these outlooks as they open from the real into the ideal, and from the ideal back to the real. From these magic casements the view is, indeed, over perilous seas, yet not forlorn; since they reveal the voyages of the Past, with all its Odysseys, and open to the prospect of new and higher quests, of richer argosies to come. In plainer phrase, science is not only retrospective, but pro-

spective; its hypotheses are ever seeking verification in experience, and these their applications towards foresight. Its discoveries thus materialize into social inventions, and each pressing towards future use and increase. In short, it seeks not only to disclose the Past, but to expose the Future, and in increasing measure direct its course. Long ago the astronomer learned to predict the eclipse; and more and more since Darwin does the agriculturist, the gardener, the breeder, first define the type of wheat or fruit, of domestic bird or beast he requires, and then in a few years produces it. To-day the man who unites scientific habit and constructive impulse is beginning to plan cities, and to plant their gardens; so to-morrow shall he not renew an enriched citizenship? And mirroring therein the image of a nobler self, he and his offspring will approach its realization. For since the human species is the most modifiable of all, its ever-renewing idealisms, its Eutopian hopes, are seen to be grounded in the very constitution of human nature.

This quest of outlooks towards the kingdom

of ideals, realizable in this our life on earth, arose anew in the travail and ecstasy of the Great Revolution, and with these, the beginnings of modern social science. The fact that this eutopian tradition is mainly of French initiative may explain, in part at least, its long neglect in the English-speaking world. For is not that neglect a survival of the instinctive boycott of all things French, from wine to pictures, that accompanied and followed the colonial wars of the eighteenth century and the Napoleonic wars of the Revolution? Other factors were of course concerned, as indeed we have repeatedly insisted throughout this volume. But whatever be the explanation, it remains true that indifference tinged with contempt has too long been exhibited towards the post-revolutionary thought of France, by our English and American schools of social science. If these had simultaneously been fertile in originality of native thought, the aversion from France would have been less conspicuous, and would in its own way have been fruitful. But so far from that being the case, the English and American schools, in every instance

where official and academic, have looked to Germany. Thence they derived, for the recent and present, but now passing generation, a too easy and too plenary inspiration in philosophy, in history, in race-theory and much else; and therewith they have imported the wherewithal to modernize outworn classical and renaissance speculations on "the nature of the individual," and the "functions of the State" into that spurious, because non-sociological "Political Philosophy" which is now falling into deserved discredit, along with its material domination over a long-docile Europe.¹

¹ Since the above was written, there has appeared a notable book, *Community: a Sociological Study*, by Professor McIver, late of Aberdeen, now of Toronto. By Community, Professor McIver means the communal life of groups, like family, tribe, city, nation, humanity, but not state, church, and empire; for communitary life and individual life within it are co-extensive in range. The social Proteus that takes shape in each communitary group, Professor McIver declares to be the one and only subject matter of sociology; and that it is only by abstraction of specialized aspects that the subsiences of economics, politics, ethics, etc., exist. Here, then, is signal evidence that the academic infertilities of the isolated social sciences are nearing their end and also is closing the long-established reign of that

In France itself the two main streams of social thought have, as we noted at the outset of this volume, run strangely separate courses. The more speculative and abstract school of Condorcet and Comte, and the geographical and observational school of LePlay and his continuators, seem, even in the land of their birth, to have exercised as little influence on each other as two rivers on opposite sides of a water-parting. And yet, if the unity of science be real, its application to life inevitable, never have two scientific systems been more clamant for blending; and this not only that each may supplement the other's deficiencies, but also that it may reconcile its own apparent inconsistencies. For the first of these systems of interpretation, though born of the Revolution, yet did not put history out of court, but used it as its foundation stone; and it came to build thereon a temple of the twofold patriciates, temporal and spiritual, though not without many and beautiful shrines for the people.

dialectical Box and Cox, the "Individual and the State." It is noteworthy that Professor McIver is a student of *La Science Sociale*.

The other system, that of LePlay, was born within the Catholic Reaction; yet in its spirit of interpretation it was more "scientific" (in the concrete and material sense) than the system of Comte; and more deeply democratic also, since tracing back all patriacies to their simplest origins, and correspondingly looking forward to their perpetual renewal from the same sources.

Thus has come about an unfortunate conjuncture in the history of science. Misled by German "social philosophy" and deceived by the prestige of English "political thought," the sociologists of the later nineteenth century made their Great Refusal. If, instead, they had rejoiced in a fuller intellectual receptivity, and accepted this twofold inheritance that France offered, though she herself had failed to unite it, what might not this have meant and done for the modern world, compassless, rudderless as it has proved to be? Some wisdom of interpretation and forecast might even thus have been made available in time to save the flower of European youth

from rushing to their doom in the red anarchy of war.

The sociologists have thus as yet been of but little account in the world. Their main bodies in France, as we have seen, were and are divided; and in other countries they became side-tracked; and, still too little conscious of their whereabouts, they for the most part remain to this day. Many are reflecting, persistently and subtly, on abstract questions of method and unity. Others are working assiduously at lesser problems, but all as specialisms; and these, therefore, subdivide and multiply without co-relation. The central problem of social and political science (we nail it up here as definite thesis, and as challenge) they have not even posed. They have ignored it. Yet assuredly that central problem was marked out by unmistakable indications and defined by the historic development of the sciences. It may be stated once more, and as a threefold task. There was, first, the fundamental task of co-ordinating, as a geographic and historic unity, these two master schools of social-illumination aforesaid, and of further developing their joint product,

of aristo-democratic doctrine. There was, secondly, the task of adjustment, by incorporating the masses of new knowledge laboriously gathered and conscientiously catalogued largely by German or Germanic specialists, upon whom so far there is no blame to cast, but praise to bestow. Finally, there was the supreme task of re-interpreting and restating the doctrine in terms of evolutionary concepts, and these as not merely or mainly confined to those of the Darwinian School, but with full utilization and development of later and finer elements. And amongst such later developments we would single out, as of special significance for social and political science, that evolutionary philosophy of life which, especially thanks to the triumphant leadership of Bergson, is at length so clearly substituting for the old polemics of *Creation versus Evolution* and *vice versa*, the reconciling concept of *Creative Evolution*. An eirenicon of social life, this impulse and doctrine of Bergson has a corresponding synthetic value for social thought.

The needed work of central development and unification in social science and its political

applications, though it has as yet so signally and tragically failed to engage the main body of sociological inquirers, has nevertheless received a degree of attention, as it were at the margin of the movement. Here and there, in spite of the prevailing vogue, such needed synthetic researches and endeavours have been going on, however imperfectly and obscurely. Even to-day their influences and resultants may be seen; here as some re-statement of doctrine unfashionable in the schools, or there as stimulus and guidance of some practical movement hitherto left unconsidered in the world of affairs.

To collect and re-express these unfashionable but synthetic doctrines, to give indications of those unconsidered but reconstructive movements, would be an opportune service. The task is being undertaken by a group of writers and workers with aid from various relevant societies. To the series of publications thus initiated and planned, the present volume has been prepared by way of general introduction.

Put in the most ambitious way, the practical objective of this Series is nothing less

than to draft and plan some of the main approaches towards Eutopia. And if in presenting such plans the regional access seem over-emphasized, that is because it is fundamental and concrete, intelligible and practical, and above all conveniently initial; and also because in the passing order of ideas it has been most neglected, and in action too much deteriorated or perverted. We are passing out of an age for which culture was defined, in the long-famous phrase of Matthew Arnold, as "knowing the best that has been said and done in the world." Such knowing is obviously, in large part, but a meditation among the tombs; and such culture is but a tending of their cemetery lawns, when not a whitening of sepulchres. The active and living culture we are learning to desire must no longer thus die away from its literal meaning, its regional and rustic origins, in productive tillage of field and garden; in care of fold and forest. Like its simple rustic prototype, a full and genuine regional culture, at once rural and civic, aims, indeed, at knowing the best; but this for fresh sowings; and at doing the best towards coming harvest.

Thus active, thus constructive, is the culture needed for home and city, for province and country, for empire and world. In this transformation from mere knowing, to knowing and doing, lies the regional outlook towards Eutopia. *Vivendo discimus*; in measure as we live and learn by turns, and again both together, this Eutopia becomes increasingly realizable, in place and time, region by region. So, in spite of all failures and setbacks, may each generation approach nearer to attainment of the City of God.

NOTE ON LEPLAY

1806. BORN at Honfleur in Normandy. Educated first at home by a priest, then at a local school, and later as a mining engineer at the École Polytechnique in Paris.
1832. Co-editor of the *Annales des Mines*.
1835. Head of the Government Committee on mining statistics.
1840. Professor of Metallurgy and sub-director of the School of Mines.
Engaged also in mining engineering, and at one time directed a group of mines in the Ourals with 45,000 men under him.
1851. Sent by the French Government to report on the metallurgical products at the Great Exhibition in London.
1855. Entrusted with the arrangement and classification of products at the first Paris Exhibition. Published *Les Ouvriers Européens* (2nd ed., 6 vols., 1877-9). In preparation for this great work LePlay had spent in foreign travel and observation, during more than a score of years, the annual holiday of five to six months which his official duties allowed. He visited nearly every country in Europe (England seven times), and extended his travels into Asia. He thus studied and monographed over three hundred working-class families representative of characteristic industries and localities

throughout Europe. From all these "Monographies sociales," thirty-six of the most complete were selected for publication in the *Œuvriers Européens*.

1856. Founded the *International Society for Practical Studies in Social Economy*, with branches in almost all the countries of Europe. The most active of these were (up to 1914) the Belgian groups. The studies of the Society include the publication every three months of a family monograph in its series *Les Œuvriers des Deux Mondes*.
1867. Senator.
1881. Founded *La Reforme Sociale* as a fortnightly publication of joint scientific and practical interest. This publication is also the organ of the *Union of Social Peace*, a federation of small local clubs founded in 1872 to study social questions according to the methods of natural science.
1882. Died.

After the death of LePlay a group of his colleagues and disciples, headed by Henri de Tourville and E. Demolins, founded *La Science Sociale* as an organ of scientific studies detached from practical interests. In this publication have appeared, in addition to interpretative studies in general sociology, a large number of monographs systematically descriptive, not only of working-class families, but also of regional communities in all parts of the world.

